1: Hanks E-5 (1953-1954) 1944 AO7 Central Thai AO7

[p. 1]

SUMMARY

On the assumption that a woman's physical and mental condition at childbirth is a product of her life-long daily habits and ideas as well as any particular injunctions set up to insure well-being in pregnancy and parturition, the cultural scene was searched to ascertain all possible relevancies.

The farmers of Bang Chan lived in a tropical, rice-growing terrain, annually flooded by the monsoon run-off. Food was plentiful even if cash was not. Except for better housing and equipment, and a greater enjoyment of market novelties, the rich lived much like the poor. The work in the fields by women paralleled that by men. Sharp physical demands, especially at planting and harvest, made them muscular.

At marriage the partners were fully mature and no woman was married against her wishes. The birth of a child was welcomed as leading to higher personal, social, and economic status.

The underlying concepts which explain why the food and other injunctions, both pre-natal and post-partum, and the ritual behavior took their particular forms, are explained.

The human body, harboring multiple immaterial souls, was seen as composed of earth, fire, water, and wind. Illness was caused by intrusive disruption of these four elements, or by soul loss. Food and medicines had properties which could be used to restore balance in the elements. The traditional curers or exorcisers had magical and herbal remedies obtained ritually from a teacher. Since Buddhist phrasings, often read from old texts in weekly sermons, molded Bang Chan's conception of life, the ultimate cause of health or illness was the presence or absence of merit. This determined one's kan (karma), the balance sheet of virtuous actions which one added to, or reduced by sinning throughout successive existences over eons of time.

The Buddhist cosmic view of individuals as separate autonomous beings brought it about that help was the only dynamic relationship possible between people. The bonds established by helping people, on this earth, especially in the tasks of feeding priests, lasted on into successive incarnations. Thus, meritorious people met again and might marry again. Families had continuity over time, and babies were born into the "right"

121 • 132 243 433 565 462 142 582 584 342 851 84 826 814 75 799 782 779

interest of improved maternal and child health, a few suggestions are made.

Purpose and Method

The purpose of this study is to set down the ethnographic data concerning childbirth in Bang Chan, following out the economic, social, religious, and cosmological aspects as needed to clarify the behavior and the psychological attitudes noted. The hope is that not only anthropologists but persons working in programs of maternal and child health will find the data useful.

The data were gathered from Buddhists and Muslims in Bang Chan by interviews and direct observation. Because Dr. Hazel Mauck, in the course of nutritional studies also made inquiries "from the standpoint of anthropological study rather than because of an assumed relation to nutrition or health" (1959:3) she first opened up the broad outlines of the subject. The author, with Dr. Saovanee as an interpreter of unusual competence, and Dr. Saovanee herself then pursued the subject further, including interviews at the Minburi Health Center and at Cha Choeng Sao.

A few comparative references such as to McFarland's dictionary and Phya Anuman's researches are given, but the focus is always kept on Bang Chan. Though many of the findings will have a certain pertinence in Bangkok, the fact that Kaufman found striking differences in Bang Khuat only 8 kilometers away shows how cautious generalizations must be.

The transliterations of Thai words are only approximations, based on the system promulgated by the Royal Institute of Thailand; the tones have been omitted. With the translation, always adjacent and a glossary provided at the end of the volume, the author feels there should be little confusion. Proper names which are generally known in a different transcription are left in their familiar form. In referring to works by Thai authors western custom is followed but in referring directly to the authors themselves Thai custom is followed, as it should be in direct address.

2: Hauck et al. D,E-5 (1952-1954) 1958 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

FOREWORD

114 The research sector of the Cornell Thailand Project concerned with health, sanitation, nutritional status, and diet has been directed since 1950 by the senior author of this paper, Dr. Hazel M. Hauck, Professor of Food and Nutrition in the New York State College of Home Economics, Cornell University. In this report, she and two of her colleagues present some of the results of a field research project designed by her and carried out by the authors among the rice farmers of the village of Bang Chan in the central plain of Thailand during 1952, 1953, and 1954. Professor Hauck's account of other aspects of this field investigation was issued in 1956 as Data Paper Number 22 of the Cornell University Southeast Asia Program under the title, Aspects of Health, Sanitation and Nutritional Status in a Siamese Rice Village. Since 1948, Thai and Americans have been working in the Bang Chan farming community to define some of the problems involved in changing peasant cultural behavior, including health and food habits.

While in the field in 1952-53, Professor Hauck began the arduous task of systematically collecting detailed data on the diets of a carefully selected sample of Bang Chan villagers. This work was continued during 1953-54 by Miss Saovanee Sudsaneh, the junior author of this report. Her assignment was a demanding one, for once begun there could be little deviation from an established schedule designed to cover diurnal and annual cycles in the preparation and consumption of food. Miss Saovanee together with a suitable companion had to sleep in the village, rise before dawn, and proceed during the dry season by foot, and by boat during the longer wet season to the homes selected for study. Some of these households were situated two or three miles from the Project's village headquarters. Only one could be visited in a day. All homes had to be reached well before pre-daylight breakfast preparations were begun so that equipment could be readied and preliminary observations made. After a year of this dawn to dusk visiting, Miss Saovanee retired to a more normal daily round of post-graduate study in nutrition at Cornell, where she received her M.S. degree in 1956, and at Harvard, where she is a candidate for the doctorate. She plans to return to Thailand to teach and do research in nutrition at Kasetsart University.

The necessary companionship for Miss Saovanee during her field work in Bang Chan, a companionship involving, of course, the same rigorous and taxing schedule, was cheerfully provided by Dr. Jane Richardson Hanks of Bennington College, the third collaborator in the preparation of this report. Dr. Hanks has worked with the Cornell Thailand Project since early

INTRODUCTION

121 This study of food habits and nutrient intakes in a Siamese rice village was undertaken in connection with the Cornell Thailand Project. The project is one of several under the auspices of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, which are focused on the process of cultural change
114 in non-industrialized societies. Dietary studies designed to contribute to a base-line description of the community were carried out from September, 1952 through May, 1954. Local headquarters, where members of the research group kept equipment, and could stay overnight, were maintained in the village.

128 The observations to be reported fall into two general categories: 1) descriptive information concerning many aspects of the food situation in Bang Chan and 2) quantitative information on food intake, and its estimated nutrient
126 value, for 11 selected families. Qualitative information on food in Bang Chan was obtained from several sources: 1) field notes made by various members of the Cornell research group, 2) structured interviews with mothers about their own food, and that of small children in the family, 3) records of food eaten during 24-hour periods, submitted by children in the third and fourth grades of the elementary school as homework for the health class, and 4) weighed dietary studies carried
114 out in 11 selected households. Quantitative information on food intakes was obtained from the latter source only. Most of the data to be presented were obtained between September 1952 and June 1954, but supplementary information was obtained from a diary for 1955, kept by a school teacher at the request of the research group, a study of innovations made by Ralis in May 1955 (Goldsen and Ralis, 1957) and information provided at our request by members of the Cornell research group who were in Thailand in the summer of 1957.

A general account of the economic, political and social organization of Bang Chan in 1948-49, together with some material on health and diet was given in the first interim report issued on the Thailand Project (Sharp et al., 1953). The second interim report concerned aspects of health, sanitation and nutritional status in Bang Chan in 1952-54 (Hauck, 1956), and the third was a report on factors related to acceptance of innovations (Goldsen and Ralis, 1957).

THE COMMUNITY

Location, Climate, Transportation

131 Bang Chan is situated in the rice-producing area of central Thailand, about twenty miles by road northeast of Bangkok.

273 in 1955 (Goldsen and Ralis, 1957, p. 57) said they drank whiskey often, 22% drank occasionally, 47% seldom, and only 22% said they never drank it.

Sale of Home Produced Foods

433 434 443 Although a majority of the families in Bang Chan made most of their cash income by rice farming, sale of other home produced foods, fish, and food materials such as swamp cabbage and lotus stems which grew wild in the canals was a minor but relatively steady source of income for many families. Six of the 11 families that participated in the dietary [142] study obtained some income from sale of food[1]. The woman frequently had major responsibility for these activities. As noted by Sharp et al. (1953), a few poor families only, added to their income by selling fish.

121 In connection with this study, our concern with sale of home produced foods is primarily with the nutritional rather than the economic aspects,[2] although the two cannot be completely dissociated. Do activities of this sort on the part of some families make a greater variety of foods available to the villagers as a whole? Are some foods sold for cash which from the nutritive standpoint, might well be kept for home use? If so, is the cash thus obtained used to purchase other foods or non-food items? Is the food purchased as useful, from the nutritive standpoint, as that sold? From the standpoint of improving the nutritive value of the diet of Bang Chan families in general, would more home production of fruits, vegetables, fish and eggs by most families be feasible, or should a few families be encouraged to develop these activities on a year round basis, to increase the local supply of food other than rice? Questions of this sort must be considered by anyone attempting to improve food habits in the village.

Annual Calendar of Foods Commonly Used

221 242 122 [124] From the records extending over the period of a year, of foods used by various families participating in the dietary study, and from food records provided by children in the health classes in December 1952, February, May, June, July, September, October and November 1953, and January 1954, a calendar has been constructed showing the approximate times of year at which the foods most commonly used in Bang Chan were available (Chart 2). Foods included in this chart were

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1. See Table 8, p. 62.

2. See Janlekha (1955).

[Text continues on page 24 - Analyst]

One other aspect of (1)ngaan which should be mentioned
952 in connection with food and health is the opportunity for con-
796 tamination of food. The villagers did not associate sanitation
781 with health, hence the hazards of a community meal which many
[753] persons helped to prepare were many. Two incidents observed the day before an ordination in early April, will illustrate. In the final stage of making Chinese noodles, rice flour paste was extruded through a perforated disk into an enormous pot of boiling water. When done, the product was removed with a fish net, and plunged into the canal to cool, after which women helpers spread it out on banana-leaf covered trays. Dishes were also washed before use in the canal, which was then too low for boats. Since, however, many people drank untreated canal water at this season (see p. 28), the added hazards for the participants caused by these procedures may have been slight.

262 In summary, food plays a major role in ceremonies and
792 festivities, which are concentrated in the 3 months' dry season. Proposals for dietary improvement in Bang Chan must take into account not only the possible effects of the (1)ngaan season on the total nutrient intake, and on opportunity for exposure to contaminated food, but also the importance of these affairs from the standpoint of merit and prestige, and the relatively great financial burdens which villagers therefore undertake because of them.

QUANTITATIVE DIETARY STUDY: FOODS EATEN AND ESTIMATED NUTRIENT INTAKE OF SELECTED FAMILIES IN BANG CHAN

Procedure

Selection of the Sample

121 125 146 Medical inspection designed primarily to discover possible signs of nutritional deficiency was carried out in advance of the family dietary study. The suggestion of Grant (1948) that matched groups, of contrasting economic or other status be studied, appeared to be appropriate to the situation in Bang Chan. Our hope was to be able to select from the random sample of families given medical inspection (Hauck, 1956) a group of families (A) in each of which several members had clinical signs which might be evidence of malnutrition, and a group of families similar in age and sex distribution (B) in each of which the members were largely or wholly free from such signs.

125 146 When the medical inspection of the random sample was complete, however, too few of the families were found to meet our criteria for inclusion in Group A, i.e. the group of apparently less well nourished families. Additional families for

INTRODUCTION

121 In the study of food habits and health in Bang Chan, Thailand, mothers and small children were the focus of special attention. We were interested in these groups not only for their own sake, but because in an area where frank deficiency disease was not common, inadequacies in the diet might be reflected in the condition of these vulnerable groups to a greater extent than in the general population. Food habits in this rice producing village have been described (Hauck, Sudsaneh, and Hanks, 1958; Hauck and Hanks, 1959) and information has been presented on nutrient intakes of 11 families (Hauck, Sudsaneh, and Hanks, 1958; Hauck and Sudsaneh, 1959).

123 In the present paper, general procedures are described first, followed by sections on 1) health and care of mothers and 2) of infants, 3) diet of mothers during pregnancy, post-partum, and lactation, 4) feeding of infants and small children, and 5) growth in height and weight of infants and small children in Bang Chan.

PROCEDURES

124 Some of the information presented herein was obtained by direct observation, but much of it resulted from interviews, usually with the mother. One of our first tasks, therefore, was to develop appropriate schedules for such interviews.

Schedules for Interviews.

During the early weeks of getting acquainted in the community, we had preliminary unstructured interviews with a number of pregnant women and mothers of young babies. Frequently the child's father, a grandparent, or other family member would be present. Informants were encouraged to discuss infant feeding, common customs associated with childbirth, and other subjects
125 of interest to the research group. From the information so obtained and from conversations with workers at the Mother and Child Health Center in Bangkok, two schedules were drawn up. In general, both schedules included three areas of inquiry: 1) clinical history, especially such information as might have a bearing on the nutrition and health of the child, 2) food intake at various periods, and 3) cultural customs and ideas of interest in relation to the Cornell Thailand Project. In this category some items were included because of their interest from the standpoint of an anthropological study rather than because of any assumed relation to nutrition or health.

853 3 and 6 months soupy rice was a common addition to the infant's diet, and after the first teeth appeared many had rice from the family pot. Between 6 and 9 months, also, fish was given regularly to many babies and egg at least occasionally. Crackers, cookies, and various items designated as (3)kha-(5)nom were frequent additions at this age.

163 Seasonal fruit such as mango and orange was given to some 855 infants from 6 months on, but most children had fruits other 262 than the (4)mak-(4)waa banana infrequently even at two years of age. As the feeding of rice increased, banana was given less often, so that for the 2-year old child even banana was eaten only occasionally. A minority of babies were fed vegetables by one year of age, and some had not begun to eat them by two years. Only about half the children from 2 to 4 1/2 years old had vegetables frequently.

Avoidance of hot tastes, rather than reluctance to give vegetables, may have been responsible for late introduction of vegetables into the diet of many children. In Bang Chan vege- [252] tables were often combined with other foods, as in curries. They were usually added toward the end of the cooking time after the mixture had been seasoned. Vegetables from such a "hot dish" would not be offered to a small child unless the parents considered him old enough to eat "hot-tasting" foods. Among the mild "with-rice" dishes were vegetables panned with a small amount of fat and seasonings other than chili, as well as vegetables cooked in coconut milk or in water (Hauck et al., 1958; Hauck and Hanks, 1959). In this connection the suggestion of a Thai co-worker that one might encourage eating more vegetables by discouraging the use of "hot" dishes seems promising, since a larger amount of mild than of "hot" "with-rice" food is eaten at one time. To promote more frequent, and earlier, feeding of vegetables to babies, one would need to encourage either more frequent preparation of mild "with-rice" dishes containing vegetables or special preparations of vegetables for the baby. The latter is rather impractical when foods are cooked one at a time over the same fire as in Bang Chan.

[252] Perhaps one reason why most infants in Bang Chan had fish [263] daily after 6 or 7 months of age is that in making curries fish was often cooked in a little fat or coconut milk before seasonings were added. Thus, a little fish could then be set aside for the baby before chili and other spices went into the pot. (Note, also, that rice and fish were the foods considered safe to eat 124 during (2)juu (1)faj by all mothers interviewed). Changes in 262 food preparation suggested for improvement of the family diet in general (Hauck, 1958) could automatically help to improve the feeding of young children who are gradually introduced to adult foods. At the same time, a better family diet would probably help to improve the quality and quantity of mother's milk, since during lactation mothers tended to eat as usual. In deciding whether the more effective approach would be through teaching

better nutrition for all family members or whether to concentrate on the feeding of children or other vulnerable groups, the values of the society should be considered. The importance of a suitable variety of food for health needs to be taught to adults as well as children in Bang Chan. The concept that good choice of food is important in pregnancy and lactation and for the health and growth of children seemed to be entirely absent. Since few believed certain foods to be harmful at these times, however, teaching how to choose foods for health should be easier in Bang Chan than it is in areas where positive taboos are common. 124 262

Behavior different from the traditional one may sometimes lead the way to changed practices among those who observe or hear about it. For this reason, in certain instances an informant who had ventured to deviate from the traditional practice has been identified in this record. Thus, we noted that in a number of ways the women school teachers and the wife of a man teacher deviated from the traditional behavior in Bang Chan. For example, a school teacher's wife used the hot ashes chamber after her fifth child rather than lying by the fire. She was one of two women informants who "ate all kinds of food" at this time when most women in the community restricted their diets very markedly. She did not consider taking the baby out into the sunshine harmful; indeed, she believed it would make the child stronger. This same mother was 1 of 4 in our series who had taken the baby to be vaccinated against smallpox. She and three women school teachers were among those who continued to give their babies boiled water to drink much longer than was customary in Bang Chan. The one person who suggested a specific food (eggs) as being good for a woman to eat during pregnancy was a school teacher. The two women who planned to go to the Minburi Health Center for delivery were school teachers. For lack of time after labor began they did not carry out their plans; but the fact that they intended to do, by choice, what was usually the last resort when labor proved long or difficult, may be significant. 121 183 178

Along with these departures from traditional ways and acceptance of some "modern" practices, the same persons might cling to other sorts of traditional behavior. The wife of a school teacher for example, though she thought that taking the baby into the sunshine might be favorable rather than harmful, said that if the baby were to be out very long she would cover its head with a beret to avoid bringing "cold" into the baby. This same mother took her child to the Minburi Health Center for treatment for a skin infection, but when the condition did not clear up immediately after modern therapy was begun, she took the child to a traditional doctor who prepared a decoction of herbs with which she treated the baby. 343 276

The behavior of respected persons, such as some of the school teachers, should be influential in helping to bring about

desirable changes in Bang Chan. An important point, however, is that leaders should understand, insofar as possible, the reasons behind the "modern" ways and not accept them merely because they are considered modern. Without adequate understanding traditional behavior which has served a useful purpose in protecting the people's health might be abandoned, or a half-understood "modern" way substituted to their hazard. For example, a popular traditional midwife said she knew that water was not boiled for mothers and babies in the hospitals in Bangkok, and the wife of a school teacher said she did not think use of boiled water was really necessary during (2)juu (1)faj. Traditionally, heat has been considered beneficial at this time. If this idea were extended to include an understanding of the value of boiling water to destroy harmful microorganisms and parasites, the traditional practice might be confirmed and even extended for the protection of other family members. If a sanitary water supply eventually becomes available in Bang Chan[1], precautions required to keep it so might be thought of as analogous to boiling of water; or chemical purification might be understood by the peasant as a modern way of conferring on water the virtues which boiling conferred when the "old way" was followed. Improvement in health and nutrition in Bang Chan must, of course, be seen as a long-time goal dependent on continuing education.

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[312] 1. In 1952-54 there were no wells in the area, and the problem of planning for a sanitary water supply when the plain is flooded for a part of each year is not an easy one.

3:Hauck et al. D-5 (1952-1954) 1959 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

GROWTH IN HEIGHT AND WEIGHT OF INFANTS AND YOUNG CHILDREN

Evidence on growth in height and weight of Thai is scant. So far as we have been able to learn, all available studies have been cross-sectional. We, therefore, undertook, in the limited time available, to make longitudinal studies of growth of infants and small children and elementary school children in Bang Chan. Observations on the latter were summarized by Thorangkul (1957) and those of infants and small children, by Smith (1958).

In general Thai children of elementary school age are shorter and weigh less than Western children of the same age. Heights of children in the Bang Chan elementary school were, on the average, less than mean heights for Thai children given by Dr. Yong Chutima (1939), and they were much below mean heights at various ages from charts (class II) in use at the Department of School Hygiene, Bangkok. Mean heights of adult men and women in Bang Chan were slightly below those recorded by other observers who have measured groups of Thai men and women (Hauck, 1956). Without further study one cannot say whether the short stature of Thai as compared to Western peoples is due to inheritance, environment, or both. Nor do we know why school age children and adults in the rice producing village of Bang Chan were, on the average, somewhat shorter than their counterparts in Bangkok only 20 miles away.

Thorangkul (1957) found that although children 7 to 14 years of age increased in height in successive 3-month intervals, a large proportion of them failed to gain weight or even lost at times and that such failure to gain occurred in more children during the dry season than during the wet season. The reason for this was not apparent from our observations. Two possible explanations are: 1) use of untreated canal water may lead to heavier infestation with intestinal parasites in the dry season and 2) leafy vegetables are almost lacking, and other vegetables are in short supply at this time. One would expect the temporary shortage of vegetables to be reflected in growth failure only when the diet is borderline in respect to some nutrients as it appears to be in Bang Chan (Hauck et al., 1958; Hauck and Sudsaneh, 1959). Either of the possible causes suggested might affect the nutritional state of other family members as well as elementary school children. All those drinking canal water and eating "adult foods" could be affected directly, whereas infants who are still largely breast fed might be affected indirectly through the quantity and quality of mother's milk available to them.

In this section observations on the growth in height and weight of infants and small children in Bang Chan are presented.

clear evidence of a seasonal effect. If weight gain in Thai infants is related to season, this could be better defined by weighing groups of children at monthly intervals and determining when or if changes in rate of gain occur.

Although our records were not made for the purpose of correlating food intake with weight gain, and no quantitative information was obtained on the diets of mothers and babies, we attempted to see if any obvious relation existed between the variety of food eaten by the mother or the child and the child's growth. For this purpose, case studies were made of 7 infants whose records from birth onward were fairly complete. The age at last observation was from about 14 to 18 months. Four of these children had gained at each weighing and weighed more at one year of age than the average infant observed by Dr. Montri (1939). Three were chosen because they had lost weight or failed to gain at some time during the period of observation and weighed less at one year of age than the average infant observed by Dr. Montri. Infants of both sexes were included in each group. No illnesses or abnormalities were recorded in the clinical histories of any of these babies or their mothers. No evidence was obtained from the qualitative food records as to why some infants gained consistently and at a fairly "normal" rate, whereas others gained relatively slowly and failed to gain or lost weight at times (Smith, 1958).

Quantitative food records might have provided evidence on this point but our observations were inadequate for this purpose. Such quantitative records should include estimations of the amount of mother's milk obtained by the infants, based on the baby's weight before and after nursing, as well as records of supplementary food given. Analysis of the mother's milk, particularly for the content of the water soluble vitamins which are influenced by the mother's diet, should also help to shed light on the cause or causes of the common failure to gain weight among older infants and small children in Bang Chan. No cases of beriberi occurred among the infants we observed, but in two instances siblings had died of infantile beriberi.

Evidence of protein malnutrition has not been commonly recognized in rice eating areas, but one must consider the possibility that these children may be in a state analagous to pre-kwashiorkor. Development of the clinically recognizable protein deficiency disease may be forestalled when the child learned to feed himself and eats more liberally of rice with some fish and egg. Of the 54 children with kwashiorkor observed by Metrasiri and Metrasiri (1955) in Bangkok, many were weaned earlier than was usual in Bang Chan. Most of them, however, had been breast fed, and 4 were still being breast fed when the disease was diagnosed.

145 In summary, although infants and children in Bang Chan
121 increased steadily in height, the rate of increase tended to be less than that of infants observed in a well baby clinic in Bangkok and much less than is usual for Western infants.
[146] Repeated periods of failure to gain in weight, or even weight loss, which we observed in infants and small children as well as in school children 7 to 14 years of age, may be evidence of unsatisfactory nutrition and might account in large part for the relatively small size of adults in this area. Extended longitudinal studies on growth of Thai children are needed, as are studies of food intake, intestinal parasitism, and other conditions which may lead to growth failure. Controlled therapeutic trials would help in recognizing the more serious of many problems of child health in this region.

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4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

[P.vii]

Preface

In a felicitous bit of phrasing, the psychologist Abraham Maslow (1954) characterized the research activities of American social scientists as either "problem centered" or "means centered" in their basic purposes. By the former he means studies that are concerned with describing and analyzing a problem that is important or interesting in its own right, and in which the question of *how* the study is conducted is self-evident, secondary, or unstated; by the latter he means studies concerned with illustrating the merit or validity of a particular research strategy or method, and in which the research findings themselves are subsidiary to the precision, elegance, or thoughtfulness of their formulation. Maslow's characterization applies with particular cogency to the writings of sociologists and psychologists. However, it is also relevant to anthropology, a field in which, on the one hand, authors continue to write splendid ethnographies without devoting more than a paragraph or two to how they collected their data, but in which, on the other hand, the editor of the *American Anthropologist* can introduce an article in his journal by saying (Spindler 1963: 1001): "The paper is intended as a solution of a procedural problem in data ordering, and nothing more, but one of the significant trends in modern anthropology is just this." 121 •

In culture and personality studies there has in recent years been an attempt to break through this tendency toward intellectual separatism. Some of the most significant contributions to the field have in fact been dual research efforts. Thus, despite their titles and theoretical concerns, such studies as Wallace's *The Modal Personality Structure of the Tuscarora Indians*, Kaplan's *A Study of Rorschach Responses in Four Cultures*, Gladwin and Sarason's *Truk: Man in Paradise*, and Spindler's *Sociocultural and Psychological Processes in Menomini Acculturation* have given from one-third to one-half of their total volume to problems of research design and method.

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

121 The present study is written in terms of this emerging syncretic tradition. It is concerned with two different but closely related problems: the description and analysis of selected aspects of the psychological life of Central Plain Thai peasants, particularly aspects of the villagers' daily encounters with one another; and the presentation of an approach for dealing with some of the problems involved in designing and carrying out cross-cultural personality research. Although all the chapters deal with both issues, certain chapters emphasize one more than the other. Readers interested mainly in the description of Thai peasant personality are urged to go directly to chapters I, II, and the first part of III, V, and VI; those interested primarily in the theoretical and methodological framework of the study are referred to the Introduction and chapters III and IV.

This study is also a product of the recent anthropological trend toward team research. If the author had been a lone field researcher, working in a completely unknown community, he could never have undertaken the kind of specialized project reported here. As will be seen below, it was only because considerable ethnographic material was already in hand, providing the cultural framework so necessary for intelligent psychological analysis, that the research was at all feasible. It is left to the reader to determine whether this kind of study is simply an anthropological luxury or whether it adds a new dimension to traditional anthropological approaches.

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

[P.1]

Introduction

The purpose of this study is twofold: (1) to provide a *basic* description of 121
the dominant personality traits of the adult members of a Central Plain Thai community; and (2) to demonstrate a procedure for dealing with many of the methodological problems, theoretical and technical, that are encountered in cross-cultural personality research. The primary data are observational materials and the responses of 111 Bang Chan villagers to a Sentence Completion Test, a so-called "projective technique."

Several considerations have prompted this work, its planning, emphases, and aims.

In 1955, when I participated in the preparation of a sociological hand- 122
book on Thailand (Sharp *et al.* 1956), I had the task of writing a descrip- 114
tion of the "social values and personality patterns of the Thai," using as sources all available materials in the English language. These sources consisted largely of the writings of travelers, businessmen, and government servants who had worked in Thailand, the comments of introspective Thai, and some preliminary ethnographic studies (R. F. Benedict 1946, Embree 1950, Sharp *et al.* 1953, deYoung 1955, Kaufman 1955, and unpublished field notes of the Cornell Thailand project). It quickly became apparent that these documents—written originally for purposes quite removed from those of psychological analysis—could provide little more than cursory impressions or intriguing clues to the psychological functioning of the Thai, and that a focused, systematic study of Thai personality was a problem for future research. The account that finally emerged from my review of the literature was hardly more than a vocabulary for describing some of the stereotyped forms of Thai social interaction: politeness, the maintenance of a stoical mien in stressful situations, the love of fun, and the like. Although worthy of note, such a lexicon obviously did not represent a thorough or intensive portrayal of Siamese personality. It was 121
with the aim of redressing this situation, therefore, that in the winter of 1956 I undertook a twenty-two-month field research project, a major portion of which is presented in this monograph. Since the research concerns

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

• 121 only the members of the village of Bang Chan, its descriptive universe is limited to this sample of the relatively homogeneous peasant population of Thailand's Central Plain.

A fundamental problem of cross-cultural personality research, however, is the question of precisely what to study and how to study it. Culture-personality studies are now universally acknowledged to be a legitimate part of the anthropological endeavor, but it should be remembered that the first research in this area, Mead's *Coming of Age in Samoa* (1928), is less than four decades old.[1] Forty years is not a long period in the development of a field of study, and much of the research during these years has necessarily been given to experimentation and the pursuit of randomly emerging problems. There is as yet no widely accepted "universal personality pattern," equivalent to the "universal culture pattern" in anthropology proper, to organize and guide psychological studies in non-Western cultures and, by specifying invariant points of reference, to expedite the overriding aim of such research: the determination of the range and variation of human personality. Too, despite the fashionableness of the field, there have in fact been comparatively few research projects that have focused *primarily* on the delineation of personality. With a few notable exceptions (DuBois 1944, Leighton and Kluckhohn 1947, Wallace 1952, Gladwin and Sarason 1953, Kaplan 1954, Hallowell 1955*a*, Spindler 1955*a*, Spiro 1958, and isolated life histories) the majority of psychological studies by anthropologists—and most of the personality research in the non-Western world has been done by anthropologists, not psychologists—have been peripheral to the field worker's major concern, ethnographic description, with the result that much of our personality material to date is scanty or ill-collected. Finally, as Inkeles and Levinson have pointed out (1954), the vast majority of personality-in-culture studies have been based not upon descriptions of individual human beings, the loci of personality, but upon descriptions of the institutions by which they were reared or the

[1] Questions of origins are of course always debatable. By stretching the concept of personality, one might make a case for Myers' and Rivers' work on the Torres Straits Expedition, 1898, or for Kroeber's three Gros Ventre biographies (1908) being the first culture-personality studies. During the teens and early and mid-twenties, Radin's Winnebago biographies (1913 and 1926), Elsie Clews Parsons' anthology (1922), Malinowski's work (1927), and Sapir's theoretical papers (1924 and 1927), although not in themselves culture-personality studies, certainly helped create a felicitous intellectual climate for Mead's research and for Benedict's *Psychological Types in the Cultures of the Southwest*, published the same year. In his synoptic review, Kluckhohn (1944) credits the Mead–Benedict–Sapir triumvirate with providing the groundwork for culture-personality studies in 1928. On the other hand, LaBarre (1958: 279) says: "Culture-personality studies essentially began in the 1930's at Yale University, when Edward Sapir and John Dollard began the first seminar on 'Culture and Personality.'" Milton Singer in his more recent historical review (1961) points to both events as marking the beginnings of the field.

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

collective cultural products they have created: myths, folktales, religious conceptions and practices. In these instances, personality has been conceived of as either a hypothetical construct linking two sets of cultural institutions (child training methods and adult collective products) or the seat of unconscious processes for the handling of anxiety (created primarily by the child training methods and unconsciously expressed in the adult collective products). Although there is considerable cogency in this last approach (Kardiner 1939 and 1945, Erikson 1950: 98–160, Whiting and Child 1953, Whiting 1961), I would suggest that limiting the meaning of personality to a mechanism for handling anxiety represents a somewhat narrow conception of its functions and attributes. Several scholars (Opler 1936 and 1938, Hallowell 1941, Kluckhohn 1943*a*, Spiro 1952, among others) have ignored the issue of child rearing and have focused on the psycho-cultural functions of the collective products—both as sources and outlets for the anxieties as well as the realistic problems of adult life. These studies have been concerned not so much with portraying personality as with bringing psychological perspective and insight to the interpretation of ethnographic materials.

These comments are made not in criticism of past research, but rather to note that there are still few firmly established conventions for precisely how a cross-cultural personality study should or can be conducted. Much personality data in the past has *had* to be scanty, simply because the careful collection of ethnographic facts—a fundamental prerequisite to the interpretation of psychological data—is in itself so time-consuming.

Given this lack of a clear methodological mandate, I formulated the following general strategy for the study of the personality characteristics of Siamese villagers.

First, it was decided to concentrate on the description and analysis of the typical dispositions, feelings, conflicts, character traits, and psychological defenses of individual adult informants viewed within the setting of Thai peasant culture. This meant that the point of departure would be a series of psychological states and processes characteristic of individuals rather than a series of cultural institutions which might or might not reflect such states. It was clear, however, that this approach would be practicable only if substantial ethnographic data on the villagers were in hand to provide both general background information and the local cultural meanings necessary for interpreting the personality data. The issue of local cultural meanings will be amplified in a later section; for the present it is sufficient to note that I proceeded from the premise that a study concerned *primarily* with the portrayal of personality would be effective to the extent to which, on the one hand, it rested on solid ethnographic data and, on the other, freed the researcher from devoting his time and energy to collecting

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

121 such data. Fortunately, the conditions for putting this plan into effect were present in the Thai situation, where extensive ethnographic studies had [122] already been conducted in Bang Chan by Sharp and his colleagues (Sharp *et al.* 1953, Janlekha 1955, L. M. Hanks 1959a–c, J. R. Hanks 1959, Textor 1960). To a large degree, the design and phrasing of my project was predicated on the prior existence of these materials.

Second, it was assumed that the states and processes referred to by the concept of personality are among the most complex of phenomena, with as many dimensions and attributes as there are to the concept of culture. This "primitive assumption" was made of course not to acknowledge an obvious truth, but to affirm the necessity that research designs for the study of personality in non-Western societies explicitly exhibit a recognition of the complexity of the task. I would suggest, for example, that collecting a set of Rorschach or TAT protocols during the last hurried weeks of one's field work—not an atypical practice (see Nadel 1955, Spindler 1955b, and Hallowell 1955c)—and then assuming that the personality portion of one's field work has been "done" is like collecting a list of kinship terms and assuming that all the complex emotional, economic, and juridical elements of actual kinship relationships have been covered. Although most anthropologists recognize the limited intellectual reference of kinship terms (Kroeber 1909 and 1952: 172, Opler 1937 and 1955: 190, Murdock 1949: 113–183, Edmonson 1957, Wallace and Atkins 1960), relatively few have taken an equally circumspect attitude toward the meaning of projective test materials, at least insofar as they have represented themselves to readers. The point is not that TAT protocols or kinship terms are unimportant, but rather that they should be seen as forming only a portion of a complex, cumulative research process, each stage of which should be carefully executed and aimed at dealing with a specific descriptive task. If personality is as involved and multi-dimensional as we all tacitly assume it to be, we should be willing to work with research designs that are equally involved and multi-dimensional.

121 *128 It was with the above in mind that I worked out a five-stage cumulative research program, the first two stages of which are represented by the data and interpretations in the present volume. The main body of this book has been limited to the two initial stages principally to permit a more complete exploration of the issues involved while at the same time keeping the report to a manageable size. The complete design is outlined below solely to provide the broader theoretical and methodological setting of the present study and to indicate its precise limits.

The first stage (chaps. II and VI) is perhaps descriptively the most

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

interesting, but methodologically the most vulnerable. It involves sketching a naturalistic portrayal of the villagers' dominant personality traits on the basis of their overt behavior, and the patterning of these traits in their interpersonal contacts. Basically this entails trying to arrive at several generalizations about the villagers' characteristic types of response, drawing from several areas of cultural life—kinship, religion, gossip-group behavior, and so forth—and ignoring for the most part detailed situational considerations, deviations, and differences of age, sex, and status. The purpose of such a description is not to provide a precise picture of psychological modes and variations, which is a task in and of itself (stage two), but to sketch in broad strokes for the Western reader some of the manifestations of Thai character which are strikingly different from our own and are important elements in their pattern of expectancies. The emphasis here is on the psychological dimensions of interaction and on those traits which are possible, expectable, and—most important—inimitably Thai, not on those traits which are most frequent in a statistical sense. "Interaction" and "interpersonal contacts" are discussed mainly as attributes of the personalities of individual villagers rather than as attributes of the sociocultural system in which these individuals exist.

It must be emphasized that since the first approach is based on a spectator's observations of overt behavior, it cannot be expected to provide information about how, from a subjective viewpoint, villagers perceive their own behavior and feelings (particularly in psychologically loaded situations), what sentiments they feel but do not express, how they deal with such sentiments psychodynamically, what their unconscious defense mechanisms and private fantasies are (as contrasted to codified beliefs, which in some cases may be institutionalized fantasies); this type of information, commonly assigned to "deeper levels" of personality, is best dealt with in subsequent sections of the research. The major aim of the first section is to provide a general psychological map upon which finer points can later be traced.

The second stage (chaps. IV—VI), involving the use of the Sentence Completion Technique, is concerned with delineating in a statistical sense the subjectively held dispositions of the villagers in various areas of psychological concern: aggression, dependency, achievement, and the like. These dispositions refer not to a series of characteristics consistently shared by any distinguishable segments of the Bang Chan population but rather to the modal and variant characteristics held by villagers in different psychological situations. Since villagers who have similar dispositions in an aggression situation, for example, may have different ones in an achievement situation, it is expected that the frequencies of modes and variants, and their

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

representative memberships, can change from area to area. Our modal and variant types therefore represent not a composite but a profile of the villagers' psychological tendencies.

This second stage of the research differs in intent from the first on several counts.

First, in contrast to the earlier emphasis on what the observer sees as the villagers' most typical behavior, the second section focuses on how villagers themselves perceive situations, or pychologically relevant states, and how best to deal with them. The statements of the Sentence Completion Technique describe a series of relatively unstructured but highly realistic situations and states—*"When I realize other people do not like me, I feel . . ."*; *"When he was asked if he wanted to become boss, he . . ."* —to which informants are asked to respond, and in so doing reveal their own needs, wishes, and experiences. It must be emphasized that the completions thus provided do not necessarily represent a description of how informants would in fact behave "when they realize other people do not like them," but do portray their predispositions to react in the manner indicated. The analytic meaning of the response is explored fully in chapter V, but for the present it suffices to note that a basic aim of this section of the research is to present in a systematic way the villagers' internal views and definitions of psychologically significant experiences.

Another aim of this section, of a different order from that above, is to shed some light on a problem that has been the subject of considerable interest, and also considerable obfuscation, from the very beginning of culture-personality studies: the question of a culturally modal personality. (Some representative studies or theoretical statements on this problem are: R. F. Benedict 1934, Belo 1935, LaBarre 1945, Gorer 1948, Mead 1951 and 1953; some representative criticisms, Lindesmith and Strauss 1950, Farber 1952 and 1951, Hart 1954, Piddington 1957; some representative analyses, Wallace 1952, Kaplan 1954 and 1957, Inkeles and Levinson 1954, and Farber 1955.) I am convinced that one of the major sources of difficulty surrounding the use of the concept of modal personality—or its over-inflated version, "national character"—has been the tendency on the part of some field workers to confound inadvertently the culturally interesting or different with the culturally typical. Researchers have been so intent on communicating to readers the unusual nature of the characteristics of the people they have been studying—those characteristics they encountered most personally and directly in the field—that they have often reported unusual characteristics that occurred with *sufficient* frequency to be impressive as actually occurring *most* frequently. I would suggest that it is precisely this kind of confusion that prompted the criticisms (Malinowski 1936 and Thurnwald 1940) of Mead's descriptions (1935) of the

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

psychological transmutability of the sexes among the Arapesh, Mundugumur, and Tschambuli, and to a lesser extent those directed against R. F. Benedict's (1934) and Thompson's (1945) views of Pueblo Indian character by Goldfrank (1945), Eggan (1943), and Titiev (1944 and 1946). The issue here is not that traits occurring most frequently are ultimately any more reliable than interesting ones occurring sufficiently frequently or even rarely—these latter are perhaps the best evidence for the variegated and innovative richness of human personality—but simply that the two should not be confused when presenting descriptions of modal personality.

Setting aside for the moment the substantive differences between an "external" (stage one) and "internal" (stage two) approach to personality, it seems clear that the most sensible way for a researcher to proceed to make statements about modal personality—the most frequently occurring personality characteristics in a group—is not by naturalistic portrayal, but by presenting to several members of the group a series of standardized stimuli, the responses to which are then examined for modes and variants and the degree of modality and variation actually expressive of the group. At first glance, naturalistic portrayal may seem the more desirable approach to modal personality, but empirically it entails serious methodological difficulties. A researcher who employed such an approach with reasonable precision would have to (1) record literally everything that occurred around him in order to insure a complete set of observations upon which to base his determinations of modality; (2) identify in these data equivalent social situations for all individuals observed, which, given all the relevant factors present that must be permuted, would vastly reduce his total number of cases; and (3) attempt to tease out modal and variant psychological responses to these situations while working with a very small sample indeed. Moreover, there would always be certain areas of psychological functioning—in Bang Chan, for example, direct aggression between adults, undisguised adult sexual behavior—which would be either closed to him or radically altered *because* of his presence. Unhappily, it is often these very areas in which he may be most interested.[2] With a method such as the

[2] I know of no case in the anthropological literature in which a study of adult modal personality in the terms just outlined has ever been seriously attempted—undoubtedly for the reasons specified. Roberts' study (1951) of three Navaho households may seem stylistically similar but actually deals with a totally different problem. It may be noted that the anthropologist who has argued most vigorously for a naturalistic observation approach to personality—Jules Henry (1955, 1958, and Mensh and Henry 1953)—has at all times confined his illustrations to observations of children or children with adults, never adults with adults. The major and unexplicated reason for this limitation is the fact that the behavior of relatively unsocialized children is of an entirely different order from that of adults: it is more spontaneous, motoric, uninhibited, and less verbal than adults' behavior, so much of which is guided by social role requirements. Stated in another way: a Bang Chan child would

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

With a method such as the
121 Sentence Completion Technique, however, the researcher obtains data
[125] that are the product of all individuals responding to the same stimuli, describing the same situations (although in the nature of the technique, hypothetical ones—and this is precisely what permits the handling of topics that may be taboo), and interviewed under generally the same conditions.

[128] Another major aim of this section is to illustrate the usefulness of the Sentence Completion Method for the cross-cultural study of personality. The specific advantages of the technique are elaborated upon later, but the point to be emphasized here is the necessity for phrasing *any* study of personality (or a principal part of it) in a non-Western culture in terms of a technique that will yield comparable data from *any other* culture. I am firmly convinced that only by using a method that can be easily adapted and freely translated from culture to culture can we begin to deal in earnest with the underlying theoretical justification of all culture-personality studies: the determination of the range and variation of human personality. As Spiro (1955: 257) has so persuasively argued:

> one of our main interests is to discover the extent to which culture influences personality; and for this purpose I believe that the Rorschach (*or any other culture-free unstructured stimulus*) is of crucial significance, for it provides us with a yardstick against which genuine personality variables, in contrast to patterned-response variables can be measured. This proposition requires some explanation. A culture, psychologically viewed, consists of a configuration of stimulus situations and the customary responses to these situations which have been learned by the members of a given society. Hence, in demonstrating, as we have successfully done, that emotional and behavioral differences are to be found within different sociocultural contexts we have not demonstrated the existence of personality differences at all. We have merely shown that different stimuli evoke different responses. What we must demonstrate, if we are to show personality differences, is that peoples reared in different sociocultural contexts respond differently to the *same* stimulus. We must, in short, be able to observe the responses of different peoples to a stimulus that is identical for all of them. . . . If under

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have few qualms about kicking another youngster in the presence of an observer, but a Bang Chan husband would think twice before beating his wife in this setting. Similarly, a mother might make love to her child in the presence of an observer, but never to her husband.

Henry himself recognizes the difficulties of using a naturalistic approach with adults (personal communication 1958), a conclusion shared by other researchers who have attempted naturalistic observation in psychological field work (personal communication from William Lambert with regard to the Whiting–Child–Lambert cross-cultural studies in socialization). Boggs (1956) provides an excellent illustration of the use of naturalistic observation with children. The work of Barker and his colleagues (Barker and Wright 1951, Barker 1963) represents the most sophisticated application of naturalistic observation to the *description* of behavior (although not necessarily personality), but again the focus is on children.

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

these circumstances we find differences in response, we can be fairly confident that we have a true measure of personality differences and not a measure of how well these people have learned their respective cultures [first italics added].

In my view, the Rorschach, not being a language-mediated instrument, is descriptively and analytically limited to too narrow a sector of psychological functioning (primarily to perceptual processes). It was therefore not used in my own research. However, the major condition of Spiro's argument is admirably fulfilled by our Sentence Completion Technique, the statements of which—covering a broad spectrum of psychological experiences—were expressly designed for, and are capable of, use not only in Thai peasant culture but in several other cultures of the world.

The next two basic stages of the research are intended eventually to provide analytic depth and descriptive detail to the earlier formulations. The third stage, involving the use of the Thematic Apperception Test—eleven of the original Murray–Morgan "American" cards which were redrawn to suit Thai conditions—is concerned with portraying the fantasies and unconscious sentiments of the villagers to the extent to which they are willing or capable of articulating material which reveals such sentiments. This last point is important. I used the TAT in Bang Chan on the premise that this technique would elicit the type of data it is theoretically designed to elicit; that is, when informants are presented with highly ambiguous pictures and asked to make up stories describing what is occurring in the pictures, they will project through these stories their own unconscious sentiments and preoccupations. The rationale here is that since the stories and the pictures which stimulate them are so highly fanciful, with no realistic consequences or constraints, informants will give free rein to their imaginations and reveal those concerns that are not usually expressed in the more inhibiting and realistic circumstances of ordinary life; and being fantasies, the stories represent projections of unconscious materials. It is this fanciful element that differentiates the TAT data analytically from the considerably more realistic SCT materials.

To a large extent, these theoretical expectations were fulfilled in the informants' responses to the TAT. The villagers' inordinate preoccupation with aggression and social conflict in the stories, for example, was almost the antithesis of what one would predict from observations of overt behavior, but made considerable sense to an investigator who always found it hard to believe that their marked non-aggressiveness at the behavioral level did not betray something quite different at more latent levels.

Despite successes of this sort with the TAT, there were several instances when informants did not seem to articulate analytically useful material. This was either because some pictures held little psychological significance for them (and this happened, I might add, with cards that

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

determined. So frequently the provocative, interesting, or delightfully human life histories found in the anthropological literature (Dyk 1938 and Tirabutana 1958 come immediately to mind) are so simply because they are the products of the more imaginative, articulate, and introspective members of the culture in question. The issue of course is not that a biography elicited from an articulate individual is to be considered ultimately any more or less valuable than one obtained from a more "typical" member of the culture—Kluckhohn's "Mr. Moustache" (1945) is ample evidence of what an articulate interpreter can do with the life history of a relatively inarticulate informant—but rather that it be accurately seen against a background of the psychological responses of the members of the community as a whole.[4]

The final stage of the research program is perhaps the most complex. Following the outlines of a recommendation originally made by Inkeles and Levinson (1954) and Inkeles (1959), it aims at presenting a systematic analysis of the *relationship* between the personality tendencies of the villagers, as determined through the foregoing materials on the one hand, and the functional requirements of Thai peasant society, as determined through ethnographic data, on the other.

An analysis of this type rests on at least three premises: (1) that there is just as likely to be a lack of congruence between the psychological capacities and proclivities of a group of people and the psychological demands that are made upon them by their own social institutions (demands that must be met if the institutions are to be maintained effectively) as there is likely to be a close fit, and that a crucial, empirical task of any culture-personality study is to detail the specific areas of congruence and noncongruence; (2) that human beings can bear considerable psychological strain—precisely how much we really do not know—and still function effectively, maintaining both their prevailing personality patterns and

Mandelbaum 1953, among others). The issue is the extent to which the psychological tendencies of life history informants—their readiness to respond and modes of response in various situations, their assumptions and unconscious premises—are typical of other villagers.

[4] I am reminded here of my own ambivalent reaction to a comment once made by a villager who, intrigued by the fact that I was collecting life histories, said: "I have heard about those people who are telling you their life stories. You're smart—getting interesting ones like them. Some of those people can really *phuud keŋ*." To *phuud keŋ* means to "speak well," but more particularly to speak cleverly, fluently, deceptively, convincingly, or beautifully (in an aesthetic sense). Actually, there were numerous individuals in Bang Chan who, in local terms, could speak considerably more *keŋ* than the life history informants. However, as the villager's remark suggests, the ability to be "keŋ-ful" in one's speech is something to which Bang Chaners give considerable attention, often to the extent of seriously modifying the intellectual content of their speech, and is one more factor that must be dealt with in assessing the content of a biographical document.

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

121 *128 established social structure, albeit in a state of stressful equilibrium; (3) that too much strain will eventually lead to major changes either in their personality patterns or social structure or both, in either a social-psychologically integrative or malintegrative way.[8] Some preliminary illustrations of this approach can be found in Phillips (1963).

I have gone into considerable detail in the above discussion in order to indicate the broader context of the present volume and also to illustrate the necessity for thinking in terms of a multiple-stage research program, each part of which concentrates on a circumscribed descriptive issue. The point is that each stage of the design has *of necessity* its intrinsic strengths and limitations. At the very outset of this book it was noted that the purpose of this study is "to provide a *basic* description of the dominant personality traits" of the villagers. It is hoped that it will indeed provide that—by which is meant a portrayal of the villagers' most distinctive personality traits as expressed in overt behavior and an account of their subjectively held dispositions as revealed in responses made to a series of hypothetical but realistic situations. In the latter instance, special attention is given to the issue of psychological modality and variation as well as to the larger problem of cross-cultural comparability. However, the presentation will neither deal in any detail with fantasies, unconscious sentiments, or psychodynamic processes, nor will it have the descriptive—and idiosyncratic—richness that can be found in life history documents. The emphasis throughout is on the personality characteristics of the members of the community as a whole.

121 A final word should be said about the theoretical model which underlies the entire effort. The basic organizing principle of a study of this kind is that human beings can be most effectively described in terms of their *typical, characteristic,* or *stable* psychological responses. These terms refer not to the superficiality or depth of such responses (which may be con-

[8] This last premise is mentioned for purposes of formal completeness, not as a practical predictive principle. We have as yet little idea of the amount of psychological strain individuals can endure before making changes in their personalities or social environments, although in a loose *post hoc* way we have often been able to specify in individual cases the conditions which lead to such changes. Also, we obviously have no way of foretelling whether changes resulting from personality-institutional strains will lead to integrative social psychological responses (Manus culture during the past twenty-five years; the abolition of the taboo system in Hawaii in 1819); or simply to more intense strains, the most extreme examples being revolution (Burma during the early and mid-1950's, the Congo) or cultural malaise (many Melanesian and American Indian tribes). The crucial issue here may well be the time factor: how short- or long-lived these responses prove to be, or whether they are instrumental or conclusive. The Hawaiian abolition of taboo, for example, was inconsequential relative to what occurred five months later after the first missionaries arrived; but the recent chaos in the Congo may in time prove to be only a minor episode in the establishment of the nation.

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

scious or unconscious), but to their *constancy*. Thus when we speak of a "polite," "fun-loving" people—or a "narcissistic," "self-accepting" people—we mean that there is great likelihood that these persons will respond or will be predisposed to respond in the manner indicated, especially in novel or ambiguous situations. Indeed, ambiguous situations provide the best evidence for how typical the responses actually are, a point that should be kept in mind later with regard to the Sentence Completion data. 121 •

It is recognized of course that this model cannot possibly account for all human behavior and feelings. Even the most polite people will have their moments of boorishness, and the most narcissistic their moments of selflessness. Also, responses that occur relatively infrequently, or under very special circumstances, may often prove to be among the most psychologically revealing. Yet the psychological tendencies of human beings are remarkably constant. People do act repeatedly in similar and often almost identical ways, and it is primarily this attribute of psychological predictability that brings order both to their lives and to our analyses.

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

fictive terms is of course sometimes prompted by nothing more than the desire to be polite, but equally often it symbolizes genuine feelings of affection and obligation not too different from what the terms imply when they are used in their original kinship context. Bang Chaners have a wonderfully convenient term, *phyan-yaad*, a compound meaning literally "family friends," which is used to refer both to friends to whom ego feels so close that he considers them members of his family and to individuals whom he considers his friends *because* they are members of his family. The particular persons to whom this term, as well as those noted above, is applied vary widely from informant to informant (expectedly so because they are non-institutionalized terms). However, the point to be emphasized is that for all villagers kinship provides a basic referential mechanism for expressing the degree of psychological affiliation that they feel toward other human beings.

An *awareness* of degrees of psychological affiliation and obligation and of the modes for expressing such sentiments are very much a part of village life. For with the exception of the five institutions mentioned above, most Bang Chaners, as I have noted elsewhere (Sharp *et al.* 1956: 241), are really not obliged—and do not feel obliged—to be beholden to anyone but themselves. In a very real sense, the village is comprised of 1,771 individualists whose major goals in life are to obtain sufficient land to support themselves, their growing children, and their religion, free from physical insecurities and unencumbered by entangling social obligations. When they enter into relationships with other people they do so with an awareness that they are always acting of their own free will.

Despite the conventions of ethnographic reporting, it is difficult to delimit the precise nature of the nuclear family in Bang Chan. The nuclear family clearly is the ideal for all villagers, but because Bang Chaners are just as responsive to convenience as they are to custom, there is considerable variation regarding this ideal. In his study of the economy of the village, Janlekha (1955) found it necessary to distinguish five different kinds of functioning, mutually exclusive household units in Bang Chan: the typical nuclear family (59.4 percent of all households); a limited extended family, consisting of a man, wife, either or both their sets of parents, and unmarried children (8.1 percent); an extended family, consisting of the limited extended family plus married children, the latters' children, and any collateral relatives of any generation (26.8 percent); a one-person family (5.4 percent); and the ecclesiastical "family," consisting of the order of Buddhist monks, the only truly corporate group in the village (0.3 percent). (These variations of the nuclear family, all localized groups, should of course not be confused with what I, following Sharp [1957], have been calling the kindred, with what Kaufman [1960] refers to as spatially and

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

121 remotely extended families, or with what L. M. Hanks [1959c] calls the 594 multi-local extended family, about which there is more below.)

591 The variations of the nuclear family, obviously excepting the monkhood, 594 arise primarily out of the large proportion of recently married couples who find it more expedient to continue living with one set of parents while accumulating funds for setting up their own independent households. In the case of one-person families, the variation arises when individuals are unable to live with their kin, are deserted by them, or have none. All the one-person families tend to be poor and are comprised largely of elderly people. In arrangements of the former type, there is a slight (five to three) tendency to matrilocality over patrilocality, and despite the intention of all concerned that the arrangements remain impermanent, there is considerable variability as to how long they are maintained. Analyzing a sample of 96 Bang Chan families, Janlekha found that although 30 percent came into being as nuclear families immediately after marriage, the balance underwent a period of residence with parents ranging from one to twenty years, the average being four years, with 16 percent never moving from the parents' home at all. Most cases of what Janlekha calls "limited extended families" result from a stem family inheritance pattern, although some entail elderly parents breaking up their households and moving in with the family of one of their mature children.

In addition to these basic variations, more accurately labeled "alternatives," there are several other variations of the nuclear family that occur with sufficient frequency to be noticed and at the same time are considered not at all unusual by the villagers themselves. Their significance for us is that they reveal what appears to be an almost nonchalant willingness or acquiescence on the part of the villagers to make modifications and adjustments in their living arrangements whenever necessary. Underlying this seems to be a fundamental assumption that the question of who lives with whom simply is not one of overriding importance: as long as individuals can live together without discord, act in terms of the household's established patterns of superordination and subordination, contribute labor or money to the family larder commensurate with their ages, and not inconvenience each other, they will be welcomed into the household; if unable or unwilling to fulfill such elementary obligations, they may take their leave, even if they are in fact full-fledged members of the nuclear family.

This rather flexible, or what the late John Embree would have called (1950) "loosely structured," approach to family organization is expressed in both centripetal and centrifugal ways.

596 Consonant with the fact that in all but the poorest Bang Chan families there is almost always enough rice to feed another mouth, it is common in

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

as a release mechanism from boredom or tension (Riesman and Bloomberg 1957, Roy 1959–1960), as a "healthy" escape from reality (Flugel 1954, Bateson 1954), or as a normal and desirable regression to childhood pleasures (Freud 1905 and 1928). Running through all these observations is the obvious Western bias that play somehow is divorced from, or a reaction to, the harsh facts of social reality.[6] On reflection, however, it is clear there is no theoretical necessity, either maturational or social psychological, for play to be limited to cathartic functions, or for regarding it as a less realistic or less mature psychological state than that which causes boredom, tension, escape, or regression. In fact, one might logically argue that the conditions which create the latter states are less realistic and immature because they represent retreats to forms of infantile masochism. Such questions of course belong to the realm of interpretive debate. The essential point is that in the process of learning to adapt to the social psychological realities of one's culture there is no inherent, ontogenetic requirement (other than that imposed by the peculiarities of one's culture) for human beings to renounce their motivations for play. Simply stated, having fun need not be so much a retreat from or defense against adult reality and responsibility as it is something to be sought after for its own sake.

The fundamental analytic issue here may well be whether play is a psychobiological "given" of the human animal, on the same order as hunger, sex, and other precultural needs, or a learned, secondary cultural

[6] Of these various interpretations, the most broadly conceived and carefully argued is Freud's, where play activities are linked theoretically to the interrelationships of the id, ego, and superego and the aims of the "pleasure principle." However, even here Freud was caught up in the Western cultural bias that only children, those who have not yet had to come fully to terms with social reality, could easily "afford" the luxury of play. This same cultural bias often appears at a totally different interpretive level in the rather crass pronouncements of journalists and travelers who, in writing about the Thai, refer to the "child-like" behavior of these people who spend so much time, energy, and money in having fun.

Radcliffe-Brown's famous essay on the "joking relationship" (1952) is of course a special sociological case of the "tension release" function of play. In a brief paper, Keesing (1960) lists some seven overlapping functions of play, but here too play is seen largely as divorced from "everyday 'reality' activities." Callois (1958) brings together valuable cross-cultural data in what is otherwise a classification of organized games.

Probably the most comprehensive study of play ever written is *Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play Element in Culture* (1938; English translation 1950) by the late cultural historian, Johan Huizinga. Although Huizinga is concerned mainly with structured play activities (games of skill, chance, guessing games) and with the relationships between play and ceremonials, one of his observations is worth noting: "Nature, so our reasoning mind tells us, could just as easily given her children all those useful functions of discharging superabundant energy, of relaxing after exertion, of training for the demands of life, of compensating for unfulfilled longings, etc., in the form of purely mechanical exercises and reactions. But no, she gave us play, with its tension, its mirth, and its fun. Now this last element, the *fun* of playing, resists all analysis, all logical interpretation. As a concept, it cannot be reduced to any other mental category. . . ."

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

need. The problem is that we really do not know, although comparative data from primatology (Yerkes 1943, Kroeber 1948: 27–29 and 60–61) clearly suggest that play belongs to the former category. If this is indeed the case it would imply that play is subject to the same degree of cultural influence, channeling, and socialization as are hunger, sex, and aggression, but can no more be fully obliterated than can these needs. Assuming, for the sake of argument, that this reasoning is correct, then the compensatory "escape" and "regressive" functions attributed to play by the authors noted above would not be at all unreasonable: play might well come to serve as an escape from adult reality in the same way that food sometimes serves as an escape from sexual anxiety or sex from food anxiety (Holmberg 1950). However, the point is that these are not the primary or typical functions of these needs, but secondary and defensive ones; although significant, they hardly comprise the necessary conditions for their being. If this approach is valid, we would be considerably wiser in our present state of knowledge (the Protestant Ethic and its intellectual extensions notwithstanding) to direct our attention to identifying the varying forms of play from culture to culture rather than to dwell on its secondary, compensatory functions.

Whatever its ultimate motivational basis, there is no doubting either the spontaneity or ingenuousness with which Bang Chaners turn social situations into occasions for play. For the most part they seem prompted in these situations by the simple desire to have a good time rather than to affect others in a socially pointed way, that is, their humor is not typically aimed at being sarcastic, didactic, or even exhibitionistic, although the person who excels at being funny is quickly recognized as such and is to an extent admired.[7] There is, in the negative sense noted earlier, an element of interpersonal effect operating here: comedy is a technique which almost by definition reduces the potentiality for face-to-face conflict. However, the villagers' play seems aimed primarily at satisfying personalistic function: their *individual* needs for pleasure and amusement.

The forms that these play activities take are numerous.[8] Perhaps their

[7] In the more explicitly institutionalized forms of comedy—*likay* (folk dramatic shows) or newspaper and magazine cartoons—these aims do come into play and often assume extreme, sometimes even biting, proportions. However, this is the comparatively safe world of theatre and "literature." Among themselves, in the world of face-to-face contact, villagers are considerably more gentle (or less sophisticated) and do not focus explicitly on such purposes.

[8] We will be concerned primarily with the forms of play, not its content. For whatever reason, humor and comedy seem to be the last refuge of what is genuinely private in a culture. Intercultural translations may succeed in communicating the manifest content of another people's humor, but they so frequently miss its intent that the result is either perplexity or disappointment ("Yes, and what happens then?").

The dangers of trying to share humor interculturally were perhaps never brought home better than when I tried to get the villagers' reaction to a story that received

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

538 231 ("Who knows what he was in earlier lives and what powers he brought with him into this one?"), there is enough reality about the tale to make people want to listen. Moreover, it is wish-fulfilling fantasy; people laugh because reality has been outraged, but with a lingering desire that it really could be.

522 [538] The kinds of stories outlined above do not exhaust the villagers' stock of conversational humor. There are also tall stories without the supernatural touch, broad burlesques, "dirty" jokes,[12] and the countless epigrams that work their way into almost any conversation; the last are not so much topics of conversation as they are means of punctuating a point. However, enough has been said to indicate that in its cognitive stylization and social psychological purposes, Bang Chan humor is not too different from Western humor. It is rather the content, frequency, and evaluation of the humor that is so distinctive. That the content should be distinctive is of course self-evident, since all humor is rooted in the implicit and familiar premises of workaday, cultural life. In fact the very essence of a joke is seeing the culturally familiar in an entirely new light. This may help to explain, incidentally, why it is always so painfully self-defeating to try "to explain" the content of a joke: its entire effect is dependent on the listener's implicit

522 121

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522 831 538 [081] [12] Sexual and scatological humor in Bang Chan pose some special problems. On the one hand, because villagers take such a matter-of-fact approach to sex, there are actually few jokes and stories that aim explicitly at being titillating or risqué. For most Bang Chaners, sex is something to be experienced and enjoyed in private, not snickered about barracks-style; there is no *sanug* in *talking* about sex (although there may be in playing with tabooed words, especially if cleverly done). Also, villagers seem to lack any interest in lewdness for its own sake. Not only Bang Chan, but Thai culture in general, is striking for its relative absence of attempts to edify sex: there is nothing in Thai literature or art, for example, approximating the exaggerated bawdiness of Rabelais or the graphic sensuality of the kind of sculpture found at Khajuraho and Konarak in India.

On the other hand, sexual situations are very often used as vehicles for portraying the foibles and stupidities of people. Villagers particularly enjoy stories of individuals of either sex who devise ways for seducing the unsuspecting, or of individuals who manage to outwit their spouses while philandering with their lovers; the more complex their machinations, the more amusing the stories. However, it is the social psychological, not the sexual, dimensions of these tales that form the major bases of their appeal.

Finally, it should be noted that villagers tend to distinguish between what could be called "genital" and "anal" modes of humor. The latter type has considerably fewer taboos associated with it. Thus, whereas most villagers would avoid going into descriptive detail in reporting the physical aspects of a tale of sexual conquest, they would have few qualms about discussing (and often with acoustical detail) such things as people who pass air in public or who otherwise get themselves into compromising anal situations. (Interestingly, J. Marvin Brown in his linguistic work with Thai informants, often including female university students, reports in a personal communication that he encountered difficulty in obtaining the various Thai terms for sexual organs and acts, but that the terms for anal and excretory behavior were given with little hesitation.)

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

recognition of the incongruity being portrayed; to have to explicate the way the familiar has been violated is to miss the whole point. Yet the very problem with which the anthropological investigator is characteristically faced is his unfamiliarity with the culturally implicit. His major intellectual task in fact is to make explicit that which is implicitly held by his informants. The only way to deal with this paradox is either to consider humor a special case of anthropological investigation, leave the content alone, and focus principally on forms and functions, or do a humorless exegesis and be prepared for disappointments. As indicated earlier, this writer greatly prefers the former alternative.

Why the frequency and value of the humor should be so different is difficult to say. That the villagers devote considerably more time to this mode of play and place considerably higher value on it than do most Occidentals is clear, especially from the pejorative comments of Westerners who are so disturbed by it. One possible reason may be the simple lack (compared to Occidentals) of time-consuming, functional tasks in the village; that is, given the villagers' definitions of things that have to be done during the cycle of daily activity, there is just more time available to them to be "frittered away" in amusing conversation. However, this negative explanation is at best only a partial solution since many people who have "little to do" manage to make busy work for themselves (in a diagnostic, not deprecating, sense); also, granted the fact that Bang Chaners have time to talk of many things, it does not explain why such a large portion of this time should be given over to humor. Another possible reason was indicated earlier: comedy provides an outlet for certain feelings that otherwise are denied direct expression or are a source of anxiety in the culture. The higher frequency of humor is a function of the degree of prohibition or anxiety, which in the case of some feelings—aggression, for example—is very high indeed. Since, as has probably been detected, much of the villagers' humor does revolve around aggressive situations, there is clearly some cogency to this approach. There is a third possible reason for the villagers' greater concern with humor. Humor, with its emphasis on the exaggerated, the incongruous, and unpredictable is, from a psychological point of view, essentially a form of new experience. In fact, it, and the real life situations to which it refers, are "invention" in the purest meaning of the terms: the breaking through of tried and established patterns of expectation. But people in different cultures look for their new experience, or express their inventiveness, in different ways. There is no inherent necessity (a consideration often overlooked by scholars concerned with culture change) for inventiveness to be expressed primarily through technological, economic, or sociological forms. It might well be, as Keesing has suggested (1960), that in many cultures the favoured modes for expressing the

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

Chan. However, there remains the crucial question of how villagers manage to develop the long-term relationships that they do have, for despite the inevitable unpredictability of all human contacts, most Bang Chaners do live together in family units for more or less sustained periods of time, fathers do save for years in order to give their sons respectable ordinations into the monkhood, relatives and friends who have not seen each other since childhood do assemble for the cremation of a late kinsman or mutual friend, and mature adults do continue to feel a profound sense of respect and obligation to individuals who were their teachers when they were youngsters. What are the bases and rewards for these enduring interpersonal commitments?

The immediate rewards for these commitments are, on the one hand, quite apparent. They involve such things as the simple, unrationalized kind of love found among any group of kin or close friends. In the case of the ordination and cremation, there is the reward of making merit, not only for the son and the departed soul, but for all those who sponsor and participate in the ceremonials. The satisfactions gained from increasing one's social prestige by putting on an ostentatious ceremonial are not to be overlooked either. At a more subtle level in the case of the respectful student, the reward is gained from knowing that one is behaving in a proper and courteous way toward one's *aacaan* (in its social psychological connotations, similar to the Indian term *guru*) and is thus upholding established normative patterns. The rewards of maintaining the rituals of the moral order are not to be glossed over for Bang Chaners, like most Siamese, are a deeply ethical people. This is not meant as an evaluation of their behavior or as a statement of their capacity to conform to their ethical prescriptions, but simply as a statement of their preoccupation with ethical concerns. The rewards of *feeling* (genuinely or self-deceptively) that one has behaved in an ethically and ritualistically prescribed way are among the most satisfying of sentiments, although as indicated in the discussion of "social cosmetics," villagers often use the rituals of ethical behavior as substitutes for more demanding interpersonal involvements. Indeed, the great emphasis given to the performance of ethical rituals (speaking in soft and gentle words, honoring one's mentors) helps perpetuate the loosely structured relationships found in the community in that conformity to these rituals is perceived by many as comprising the fulfillment of their interpersonal obligations. Beyond this they are free to pursue their own interests. To a large extent the ritualistic forms serve as a comforting psychological justification for the pursuit of individualistic concerns, *i.e.*, "But I otherwise treat others so nicely." [20] This is not the result of conscious

[20] In one of his more recent and typically penetrating works, Goffman (1963) coins the terms "Involvement Shields," "Main Involvements," and "Subordinate

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

*156 psychological manipulation. The frequency with which villagers evaluate themselves and others in terms of the performance of these rituals and the high frequency of rituals in actual behavior attests to the seriousness which Bang Chaners attach to them. Their compensatory nature in no way detracts from their importance to the individual. In fact, the precise opposite seems to be the case. Bang Chaners are a highly ethical people irrespective of the social psychological functions such ethics may serve.

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Less apparent than the above immediate rewards for fulfilling interpersonal commitments but perhaps the very factor that is common to most of them is the sense of reciprocity that is at the basis of all enduring relationships in Bang Chan. Reference was made to the *quid pro quo* nature of Thai social relationships at several points in the text. However, the importance of this consideration cannot be fully appreciated without realizing that the functioning of the entire Thai social system is ultimately dependent on it. Individuals become involved with others and do things for them because they consciously expect others to respond in kind. This applies to the relationships existing between family members who live together *because* such an arrangement is most advantageous to each; to the father who gives his son an ordination *in order that* the latter will make merit for him and feel obligated to care for him when he becomes old; to the friends and relatives who make merit for the departed soul *because* of the good things he had done for them during his lifetime; to the adults who feel obligated to their childhood teacher *because* of the knowledge, and thus power, he imparted to them. It might well be, as Mauss (1954 [originally

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[114] [121] Involvements" to describe in theoretical terms what has been analyzed here empirically. The major point of Goffman's concepts, and of his entire book, is that human behavior is typically polyphasic (people act one way and simultaneously think or feel another); that there are types and degrees of involvement with people, situations, and self; that situational behavior typically entails patterns of "deception" as ways of implementing disinvolvement (or, as he says, as ways "to conceal improper involvement and to affect appropriate involvement"); and most important that such patterns of "deception" are culturally—and not as heretofore assumed, idiosyncratically—phrased. His definition of "Involvement Shields" (p. 41) is particularly apposite to the discussion above: ". . . we think of involvement shields as one means by which the individual can maintain the impression of proper involvement while he is actually delinquent in his situational obligations."

Dealing mostly with American culture, Goffman does not of course analyze ethical rituals as a particular kind of "Involvement Shield." Americans favor other, more culturally distinctive patterns of deception. Also, he uses the term "involvement" in the same way that I have been using the term "commitment." Unfortunately, neither Goffman nor I say very much about the conditions, cultural or psychological, which determine whether a person is fully ("properly and appropriately") involved or committed in any particular situation or is simply shielding himself. However, I would argue on theoretical grounds that the *decision* is almost always idiosyncratic, the *actual behavior* almost always cultural.

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

of the land upon which the human home is built. In effect, humans have temporarily "rented" the land from him.]

. . . [The] contract implies and is validated by reciprocal obligations . . . [In] its totality the system of complementary reciprocity validates, maintains, and gives substance to the implicit contractual networks. The symbolic meaning of exchanges (as contrasted to economic and other functions) is accepted without question by all villagers: as long as a person continues to give to and receive from a partner, he is assured that the particular relationship is in good order. *When an exchange pattern between two people terminates, it is overt evidence to both that the contract is dead,* regardless of the formal institutional ties or the religious validation which may, in theory, continue to bind the participants. [Italics added.]

In anthropological analysis it is customary first to seek and attempt to identify the factors which link human beings together rather than those which keep them apart. This is so much a part of our professional tradition—in effect, one of our "primitive predicates"—that we tend to gloss over the question of the extent to which people must have enduring interpersonal commitments. This question has not been pursued in precise detail in our discussion. However, the realities of Bang Chan social behavior are so weighted in the direction of atomistic and essentially non-relational considerations that any coherent discussion of them should be organized in approximately equivalent terms. It is for this reason that the bulk of our presentation has focused on the individualistic nature of the villagers and that the factors accounting for interpersonal linkage were left to the end. It is hoped that such an organization has accurately reflected the tone and quality of Bang Chan social life as it is encountered and felt by an outside observer trying to understand its meaning to those who experience it.

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

[P.96]

III

Methodology in the Field

*128 The discussion until now has been concerned with describing and interpreting aspects of the villagers' psychological life with little mention made of how these materials or those which follow were actually obtained. Since
• [121] one of the larger aims of this study is methodological (to present a method for dealing with some of the problems involved in designing cross-cultural personality research) and since the balance of the presentation depends directly on technical procedures, it is necessary to examine the nature of the data collection process itself. I will focus on three aspects of the research process: (1) the human beings involved (the villagers, the anthropologist and his assistants, and their interrelations); (2) the development and use of the Sentence Completion Technique in the field, including a discussion of translation procedures; and (3) the selection and nature of the sample.

12 Most of the foregoing discussion was not the result of a pre-planned methodological effort. Since I was dealing with data that emerge naturalistically from life's daily round, it seemed reasonable to impose few *a priori* methodological constraints on the investigation. My method was simply to try to be sensitive to *repetitive* and *culturally different* modes of behavior manifested by the villagers. Knowledge of the available literature and general knowledge of Thai culture may have helped, particularly with regard to the interpretations that were made. However, because both the observations and interpretations were made by a human being, it is inevitable that several of the factors discussed below should enter into my deliberations.

Field Research As a Social Event

Despite the entry into anthropological field work of what Kroeber (1955*a*: 307) called the "social science" tradition, the field situation remains a fundamentally human one where the kinds of data obtained, the willingness to provide information or to hold back, the types of interpretations that are made are all influenced by the personalities of the parties involved and how they perceive and deal with one another. The data that appear in most field studies are in part distillations of these complex interpersonal and

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

from those of the villagers, except that because our relationship was considerably more sustained and intellectually stimulating (they wanted to know about the village almost as much as I did), it was more intimate and unguarded. My closest friend in Thailand was not a villager but my male field assistant.

Investigator's Attitudes Toward the Villagers

Anthropological field work has been referred to variously as "a period of stepped-up socialization," "the ultimate test of the value and limitations of empathy," and more simply "the most rewarding part of the anthropological endeavor." It is all these things. However, perhaps its most distinctive characteristic is that it is a period of intensified self-control. It involves the willingness to suspend one's normal and familiar patterns of behavior in deference to patterns which are appropriate to the culture being studied, or at least not too incongruent, and which are aimed at one's overriding purpose in being there: to obtain data.[3] The rewards of field work are of course immediately apparent: to encounter directly a different arrangement of the human experience. But field work also involves the psychological price of being temporarily willing not "to be oneself." There are of course numerous instances within one's own culture when one does not behave like "oneself," but simply assumes the pose associated with one's role. What is distinctive of field work is the highly *sustained* quality of one's "acting"; the researcher must be *continuously* concerned with tailoring his actions to suit others' preferences. The problem is complicated further by the fact that in field work the preferences of others are usually only slightly known; in fact, the discovery of such preferences is part and parcel of the very process of field work. Thus, the researcher tends to be even more hesitant and concerned with keeping himself under rein. It should be noted that "not being oneself" is not identical with "not being true to oneself." Indeed, the ideal adaptation to the psychic requirements of the field situation may be to feel any way one wants to *feel* toward one's informants, but to be sure to *act* properly toward them.

My overt behavior toward the villagers involved assuming something of a social pose, but a relatively straightforward and simple one. I attempted to present myself as an interested, uncritical, and mildly bewildered young

[3] I am not speaking here simply of functioning comfortably in an alien culture. Cultures differ radically in the degree of conformity to or deviance from prevailing patterns that is permitted individuals; and in this respect, Thai culture is extraordinarily tolerant of personal deviance. However, this is not the same as living in a foreign culture when one's *raison d'être* is to induce members of that culture to coöperate, provide information, and confide in oneself. Here it is incumbent upon the outsider to make some adjustments in his normal behavioral responses.

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

*125 Yet because it is potentially offensive, it is doubtful that they have ever been faced with the straightforward question: "How do you feel when you realize other people do not like you?" When the problem however is couched in the familiar linguistic frame, "When I realize other people do not like me, I feel . . . ," informants can readily supply the response that they have been conditioned to associate with these words. The SCT is more comfortable than a series of direct questions because it taps the system of relatively unconscious expectations and conditionings which comprise the psychological essence of language and thought.

The SCT and Cross-Cultural Research

*121 *125 The second premise concerns the character of the SCT data and their analysis. It is important to make explicit that the research strategy here is one which places particular emphasis on abstracting from the kaleidoscope of the villagers' thoughts and feelings a series of descriptive and analytic types. Despite their commonplace appearance, the sentences are really brief verbal summations of how informants see themselves reacting in a wide variety of real-life situations. These summations are quite abstract, and much of the graphic detail of Thai personality—as can be had, for example, from the rich description of a life-history document—must be held in temporary abeyance.

As noted earlier, the writer is keenly aware that abstracting a series of analytic types is not the only way nor, in absolute terms, necessarily the best way (if there be such a way) to study personality. The limitations of the approach, particularly its lack of descriptive detail and naturalism, should be apparent. However, the method does have certain intrinsic advantages over other techniques.

First, it emphasizes the cross-cultural significance of our data. Although I can provide little empirical evidence to support this contention (other than what by implication might be found in the work of Schaffner 1948; Farber 1951; Roseborough and Phillips 1953; Fried 1953; Rychlak 1955; Rabin 1959; and Leichty and Rabin 1961—the entire body of cross-cultural SCT material to date) I would argue that *all* human beings, regardless of type or level of culture, must deal with the kinds of problems posed by such simple phrases as "When people annoy me, I . . ."; "When he was praised he . . ."; "He wishes he were. . . ." In our SCT batteries all but four items, designed specifically for Thai culture, have this pan-human emphasis. If this assertion is correct, it would have at least two important implications. On the one hand, from a long-range programmatic point of view, it would suggest that the SCT is an ideal technique for studying the range and variation of human personality. Here is an instrument the units

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

of which seem to have true cross-cultural stimulus value and the responses to which seem genuinely comparable from one human group to another.[4] The only thing which might mitigate these advantages is the fact that both the stimuli and the responses must be mediated by the translation process. But as was indicated earlier, considerable attention has been given to controlling this factor.

The reader should be aware that I am talking about my particular version of the SCT, not the technique as such. Hallmann and Getzels (1953) have noted that the common label, "Sentence Completion Tech-

[4] The claim of universal applicability that is made for the present SCT has also been made at various times for the TAT and Rorschach tests (Henry and Spiro 1953; Hallowell 1945 and 1955*b*; and Joseph and Murray 1951, among others). Without denying the TAT's and Rorschach's capacity to perform a number of important research functions—and to perform them well—the following points should be kept in mind with regard to this specific issue.

The familiar Murray–Morgan TAT cannot be used in every culture simply because not all people practice agriculture (as is depicted in card 2), use furniture (approximately one-quarter of the set), or even wear clothes (excepting 17BM, all cards portraying people). For such cultures, the stimulus value of the cards seems dubious. Some investigators (W. E. Henry 1947, Gladwin and Sarason 1953, and Lessa and Spiegelman 1954) have retained the principle of the TAT but have departed radically from the original cards by designing sets of pictures suitable only to the local and unique conditions of the cultures they were studying. Although this procedure satisfied their immediate research needs, it has contributed little to cross-cultural studies since the various sets have nothing in common. An alternative procedure, followed by the author in Thailand, DeVos in Japan, and Marshall in India, was to modify the flora, fauna, facial features, furniture, and clothes of the originals but retain the same social situations and aesthetic effects. This method permits cross-cultural comparisons, but only among peasant or more advanced societies —an extensive but incomplete ethnographic sample.

The Rorschach presents similar problems, but on a different level. The non-representational ink blots are clearly less culture-bound than the TAT pictures. However, their essentially pictorial quality creates difficulties in cultures where pictures are unfamiliar (Pilaga, for example; see Schachtel, Henry, and Henry 1942) or where graphic symbolism, particularly abstract graphic symbolism, has strong religious connotations (tribes of Central Australia, for example). In contrast to both the Rorschach and TAT, the SCT uses a medium which is truly universal—language.

Finally, assuming that the above difficulties may be resolved—Hallowell (1955*a*) calls them "administrative problems"—it should be remembered that the Rorschach, TAT, and SCT are not in competition with each other but serve different, although not mutually exclusive, research purposes. The Rorschach focuses on perceptual processes and the control and expression of inner promptings, the TAT on social needs, sentiments, and perceptions; and the SCT on reactions to realistic situational forces. In a sense, the three techniques emphasize different points of two underlying analytic dimensions: (a) inner determined as opposed to situationally determined behavior; and (b) unrealistic as opposed to realistic stimuli. The Rorschach falls on the inner determined and unrealistic sides of these continua; the SCT on the situationally determined and realistic sides; and the TAT in between. Again, without denying the importance of studying the inner determined and unrealistically stimulated aspects of personality, I would argue that the *primary* task of culture-personality research is to study personality in terms of realistically defined, albeit abstractly conceived, situations. A not too dissimilar point of view can be found in Linton (1945: 86–89).

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

*125 • 121 nique," frequently makes one forget that variations in the context and form of sentence fragments actually make different versions of the SCT into entirely different "tests," leading to major differences in results and interpretations. Failure to recognize this obvious fact has led to some specious arguments (Lorge and Thorndike 1941 *vs.* Sacks and Levy 1952, for example) about the relative effectiveness of "the" instrument.

My point of view, of course, is that one can design an SCT to investigate *anything*, from cabbages to kings. The very nature of language—or more precisely, one of its defining characteristics, its "productivity" or "open-endedness"—permits this. (By "productivity" I mean, following Hockett 1959, that a speaker may say something that never before has been said or heard.) In this light, what is distinctive about the present work is not the fact that an SCT is being used but rather that the language of this particular SCT describes a number of universal social and psychological problems.

Second, the technique also helps to bring into focus an issue that is particularly crucial to cross-cultural personality studies. My primary task was of course to describe and analyze the villagers' predispositions in a number of areas of psychological concern: aggression, anxiety, dependency, and the like. There were originally thirteen such areas which, on the basis of prevailing ethno-psychological theory and practice, were presumed to be of major importance in the psychic lives of the informants. It should be recognized, therefore, that in selecting these areas I committed myself to the premise that there are in fact a number of analytic issues crosscutting all societies which are crucial to the psychosocial functioning of the members of these societies. This should not be taken lightly, because it is only on the basis of such a premise that a comparative science of personality may develop.

[114] Such a science does not as yet exist, at least as a coherent, systematic corpus of theory and fact. Kroeber is absolutely right when he says (1955*a*: 303): "Culture and personality studies are being pursued with intensity and devotion, but one feels that they are popping off in diverse and unaccountable directions much like a string of fire-crackers. One inquirer is interested in tensions, another in Rorschachs, another wants to experiment on frustration; but in effect each starts off on his own—except when a string of them go in for a fad like toilet training. . . ."

Yet, there has been a steady flame setting off all these firecrackers: the search, at times undeniably ill-planned and unreflective, for a set of abstract, analytic categories by which the personalities of all peoples can be described and compared. Papers by Kluckhohn (1953, 1954*a*, 1954*b*), Hallowell (1950, 1953), Spiro (1954), Inkeles and Levinson (1954), and Kroeber himself (1955*a*, 1955*b*) on the psychological universals in human

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

behavior suggest that there are now sufficiently solid theoretical and empirical grounds upon which to build such an undertaking. Inkeles and Levinson deal with the problem directly (1954: 989–990):

> One promising approach is to concentrate, for purposes of comparative analysis, on a limited number of psychological issues . . . that meet at least the following criteria. First, they should be found in adults universally, as a function of both maturational potentials common to man and of sociocultural characteristics common to human societies. Second, the manner in which they are handled should have functional significance for the individual personality as well as for the social system, in that their patterning in the individual will affect his readiness to establish, accept, maintain, or change a given sociocultural pattern. A further task, one that will take longer to carry out, is to develop a set of descriptive categories for the empirical analysis of each issue.[8]

Toward this end, Inkeles and Levinson present a provisional list of analytic issues, some of which are replicated in the Thai study: relation to authority, conception of self, bases for maintaining inner equilibrium, major forms of anxiety and ways of dealing with them, modes of cognitive functioning, styles of expressive behavior, and the handling of major dispositions such as aggression, dependency, and curiosity.

In formulating the various issues to be included in the SCT, I borrowed from Inkeles and Levinson and the other writers noted above. However, like them, I wish to note that this list of categories is neither exhaustive nor definitive. In fact, because of limitations of time and instrument design, some of the areas proposed above—cognitive functioning, for example—had to be ignored. Others were also ignored during the write-up because the materials elicited were not in my opinion sufficiently meaningful or revealing. The value of our list lies not in its formal completeness but rather in the fact that the issues which are included seem, on the basis of knowledge presently available, to be of universal psychological importance. This is a beginning.

A third attribute of the SCT, related to the above, deserves comment. This concerns the abstract nature of the SCT items.

A fundamental problem in all cross-cultural personality research is not

[8] In a later paper (1956), Inkeles qualified one of these criteria by noting that there are probably many personality complexes which are functionally significant to individuals, but which have little discernible relevance to the functioning of social systems. Much depends here on how one defines "social system" and "personality"—particularly "levels" of personality. Inkeles, for example, draws a clear theoretical distinction between "basic personality" and "social personality," the latter being comprised only of those traits which are necessary for the effective maintenance or change of the social system.

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

only the specification of a series of pan-human psychological issues as described above, but the selection of a research tool capable of obtaining empirical data that *accurately* reflect these issues in the various cultures studied. Aggression, anxiety, dependency, and the like may be universal human dispositions, but the causes and circumstances pertaining to them vary considerably from culture to culture. This is of course a basic anthropological truism (see particularly Whiting 1954 and Lewis 1955). Perhaps the best theoretical formulation of the problem from a research point of view can be found in an unpublished paper by Suchman (1955; see also Sears 1961) where the matter is framed in terms of what is called "concept equivalence" vs. "data or item equivalence." Or translated into our research operations: given the fact that the concept "anxiety" as applied to Thai culture is equivalent to the concept "anxiety" as applied to American culture, what kinds of items will bring forth *equivalent* empirical data from both cultures relevant to this concept?

My decision in dealing with this question was to design items which were sufficiently abstract so that they could be used in any culture with assurance that the empirical problems which they described were accurate and equivalent representations of the concepts.[8] In essence, statements such as *"He was most afraid of . . ."* *"When something worried him, he usually . . ."* were derived directly from the concept of anxiety, bypassing culturally specific definitions of anxiety; the experiences portrayed by the items are in themselves descriptively universal rather than culture-bound. Cultural specificity—which is of course the central aim of this research—enters when informants react to these experiences in their completions. From an operational point of view, therefore, the requirements of concept and item equivalence were effectively merged.

A final aspect of the SCT, of an entirely different order from the above, merits attention. This concerns those general methodological advantages which the SCT enjoys as an organized, semi-structured research technique.

First, the SCT permits the field worker to present his research interests to his informants rather than wait for manifestations of these interests to emerge spontaneously from the behavior or remarks of the informants. Data collected by this method is by no means any better than that obtained, for example, by observational techniques, but it is more complete. If an investigator wants to know how an adult villager would react to being struck by another person or what the villager thinks about when he is

[8] Florence Kluckhohn (1960: 6–7) in her effort to develop a technique for the cross-cultural study of value orientations comes to a similar conclusion. She says that the "more highly generalized" an item was, the more readily it could be translated for use in another culture.

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

alone, he might have to wait months before an act of overt physical aggression actually occurred, or before an informant volunteered some of his reveries.[7] When these events do occur, it is exceedingly difficult for the analyst to assess how typical or deviant the event may be under the circumstances, whether it is characteristic of villagers of a particular age or sex and what other individuals may do or say in similar situations. Rather than depend upon what is essentially a "catch-as-catch-can" approach, the SCT brings the research problems to the informant and asks him to deal with them directly. It should be remembered that although the resulting data are not as naturalistic as observational materials, they are always the product of the villagers' own voluntaristic inclinations: their responses represent their own internal views of how to deal with the problems posed by the introductory phrases.

A corollary to the above is the fact that the SCT presents to a large number of individuals what are essentially the same stimulus situations. The primary advantage here is that it provides a solid empirical basis upon which to make statements about how typical or deviant a response may be.

The Selective Nature of the Responses

The third premise follows much of the preceding, but merits special consideration because of the cross-cultural phrasing of the study. In a sense, it is the basic methodological principle of all anthropological research.

In examining the SCT responses, it soon becomes apparent that the majority of our informants' statements make perfect sense and are the types of reactions that conceivably could be made by any human being. The word choice and style of many of the responses are of course inimitably Thai. For example, "*The most important thing in his life is* . . . ohhh! . . . having or not having something to eat. If you have something to eat: good. If you have nothing: trouble. We people are born in order to find things to fill our mouths and stomachs. Nobody can take his property and money with him when he dies." But the expressed meanings of the responses (in this case, practical survival) are not, despite perhaps anthropological expectations, alien or extraordinary.

The point to be emphasized is that although the villagers' SCT responses may not seem immediately familiar, they do fall well within the range of what is *objectively possible*. It is this element of objective possi-

[7] From an ethnographic point of view, the fact that such events do occur so rarely is not without significance. It is additional behavioral evidence of the amount of aggression control exercised by the villagers and of the fact that they prefer not to wear their hearts on their sleeves.

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

bility that lies at the heart of the SCT analysis. As Kluckhohn has said (1959: 247; see also 1951: 421–422):

> The most specific quality of anthropological research arises from its preoccupation with culture. This concept (in the technical, anthropological sense) refers to those *selective* ways of feeling, thinking, and reacting that distinguish one group from another. . . . In the strict sense, we can speak of culture only when there are two or more objectively possible and functionally effective means or modes of meeting the same need, . . . and a given group exhibits a consistent and stylized preference for one path to the goal among a number of alternatives that are—from the observer's point of view—all open.

In this light, what is most significant about the responses is not that they are in themselves descriptively unusual, nor even that other cultural groups could not share some of them (the principle of "limited possibilities," supported by linguistic constraints, undoubtedly operates here), but rather that of all the objectively potential ways in which to deal with the SCT situations, the villagers select a few distinctive ways to the exclusion of others. In the example above, "the most important thing in his life" is *not* "his family" (the need for close social affiliation; being a source or recipient of succorance), his "love affair" (emotional-sexual need), "knowing himself" (realistic assessment of one's capacity for specific achievement), "passing his examination" (the need for status and accomplishment), or any other equally feasible response. Rather the response is "having or not having something to eat" (elemental subsistence). At bottom, it is the selective aspect of the SCT responses—in contrast to their strangeness or familiarity, which are secondary descriptive characteristics—that defines their essential "Thai-ness."

For readers who may be surprised by the interpretive labels given the above responses, it should be noted that we have touched here upon what is probably *the* crucial anthropological problem. I have tried briefly to suggest what these responses, if they were given, might mean—but in Thai, not American, terms. This compounds our interpretive problem considerably. The fact that such alternative responses are not typical is in itself, as we have just indicated, of extreme importance. However, if they were given, their meanings would not necessarily be the same to the villagers as they are to us. By way of illustration: it is hard to imagine any Bang Chaner completing the statement *"The most important thing in his life is . . ."* with the words "knowing himself." Few villagers are that introspective or self-objectifying. However, if by chance an informant did offer this completion, it would certainly not mean, as it does among some American subcultural groups, "the need for self-acceptance, personal identity, freedom from intra-psychic tensions," etc. (See Erikson 1950, 1954, 1959; Riesman

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

1950; and Wheelis 1958.) At best, it would suggest that the Thai informant was faced with a difficult problem external to himself—perhaps finding a job or a spouse, or thinking of his future—and was appraising his ability to deal with that problem. Also, such an appraisal would have a strong constraining element: the necessity to control one's hopes and desires (perhaps for the hypothetical job or spouse) in order to avoid potential pain or disappointment; in essence, "beware of your limitations; do not forget your station." This is in turn supported by certain Buddhist concepts, such as *?ubeegkhaa*, or stoical indifference to the vicissitudes of life, among others.

Whether there is *any* way to express handily in Thai the Western notion of "the need for self-acceptance" is doubtful. Most villagers are too thoroughly narcissistic to require such a concept in their cognitive maps. Alternatively, there are other more direct ways of saying what "knowing myself" might mean in Thai, for example, "controlling my desires," "knowing whether I have the ability to do the job," or by referring directly to Buddhist doctrine. As such, these statements would be an expression of piety or the bolstering of one's self-confidence (or steeling oneself against failure) rather than psychic introspection.

A similar interpretive problem exists with the completion "his family." Because Thai kinship relations are so strongly influenced by concepts of benevolent superiority and dependent inferiority, most expressions of the need for affiliation with the family immediately imply the related need of succorance: security, support, protection, and sympathy, either as source or beneficiary.

The point of these comments is that the responses must always be first interpreted in the villagers' terms, not ours. Once made, precisely by explanatory notes such as these, these interpretations become part of the "data" and serve as a basis for our analysis. It should be recognized, however, that anthropological mythology (and these particular examples) to the contrary, not *all* the responses are interpretively dissimilar. When a villager says, *"When he hit me, I . . .* must hit him back," he means precisely the same thing we do. The point, therefore, is to be extremely sensitive to the possibility of differential meanings, underscore and explain it when it occurs, and use the native interpretation as a prerequisite and corrective to our own. For a brief but brilliant theoretical discussion of this problem see Bohannan 1959.

The Psychological Meaning of the Responses

The fourth premise concerns the psychological "meaning" of the responses. There are several aspects of this problem which require specification.

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

*125 15 should conform. (For example: *"The best way to treat a subordinate is . . . to speak to him with kind and agreeable words"*; *"When he thinks of his father, he thinks of . . .* the goodness and kindness his father has done for him.") This is not a universal pattern since definitions of the ideal are ambiguous, lacking, or inappropriate for many of the items; also, such definitions seem not to be applied to items which imply immediate action. However, they do appear with sufficient frequency to be noticeable.

156 None of this should be surprising, inasmuch as viewing behavior in terms of "the good" and "the proper" is a central characteristic of the villagers' thought and idiom. They tend, *considerably* more than Americans, to evaluate (in an ethical sense) people and events rather than describe them, and even to describe by evaluating. Ask most villagers: "What kind of a person is so-and-so?" and their replies will consistently be in terms of whether he is "bad" or "good," rather than in terms of non-evaluative description, *e.g.*, he is "funny," "passive," "interesting." The words, *khon maj dii* and *khon dii* ("a bad person" and "a good person") are two of the most frequently occurring items in the Thai lexicon. One might epigrammatically characterize much of the villagers' thought as "super-ego-dominated." That this mode of thought should be applied to many of the SCT situations is hardly unexpectable.[9]

• 121 15 Having recognized this tendency, however, there is the problem of assessing its psychocultural meaning. Do such appeals to the ideal, especially as applied to the self, in any way weaken our definition of the responses as "predispositions to action?" Are many of the responses mere verbalisms that have little to do with real behavior?

121 114 15 A number of theorists, notably Murdock (1940 and 1954) and Kluckhohn (1943*b* and 1951) have taken the position that cultural behavior should be distinguished into two fundamentally different forms: ideal patterns and real patterns. The former are "those norms which are verbalized as the ideals to which behavior should conform" (Murdock 1954: 22); and the latter, patterns of actual, overt behavior. Opler has taken issue with the necessity for this distinction, and has argued (1948: 116):

> My own feeling is that the concern over precepts or ideal patterns which contrast with or stand apart from behavior is a pleasant distraction which will not get us very far. In my opinion the disparity between rule and behavior in society has been greatly exaggerated. Actually, behavior remains remarkably close to rules or precepts which are

[9] This same characteristic has been described in other contexts (Wilson and Phillips 1958, Phillips 1958, L. M. Hanks 1959*a* and 1959*b*) as the essentially moral nature of the villagers' universe: the tendency, largely implicit, for Bang Chaners to perceive events of the most diverse kinds within an ethical frame of reference. It might well be, as Redfield had argued for many years (1941, 1953, and 1956) that such a cognitive orientation is characteristic of all peasant peoples.

(181) (114)

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

considered of moment by the group. I think that it can be demonstrated that when precept and activity draw too far apart, a modification of one or the other is likely to take place to close up the gap. 114 121 15

In assessing my psychological test materials, I take the following position with regard to this issue. The distinction between the ideal and the real is an analytic requirement because obviously there are some instances where the two patterns are not congruent. However, once such distinction has been made there is no inherent necessity to assume that there *must* be a gap between the two patterns or if there is a gap, to assume that it must be especially wide. One will inevitably encounter in Bang Chan cases where subordinates are not spoken to "with kind and agreeable words." But on the whole, the extent to which real behavior does accord with this precept is impressive. For the most part, it is not a mere verbalism but rather a viable guide to action: a subordinate who is not treated with kind and agreeable words will not (depending of course on other situational factors as well) long maintain his ties to his superior. This same reasoning applies to the majority of the cases in which informants couch their responses in terms of cultural ideals. 183 125* 15

A third aspect of the responses concerns the psychological "level" at which they will be interpreted. Because of the highly realistic nature of the completions, the necessity to interpret them in Thai terms (which precludes "blind analyses"—see DuBois 1944) and the necessity to work with the pooled responses of many individuals, our interpretations will not go psychodynamically very "deep." On the other hand, neither will we remain at the level of the manifest meanings of the responses. Although an informant's completion may represent a precise description of the way he would behave in real life, and in many cases does, it is more sensible from an analytic standpoint to view the response as a symptom of an underlying, more generalized, psychological orientation. The reasons for this are twofold: first, many of the responses which are superficially different seem to express simply alternate facets of a single, underlying predisposition; second, and more important, we must remember that on theoretical grounds personality characteristics are not, as Inkeles and Levinson point out (1954: 981) "phenotypic, behavior-descriptive terms, but rather are higher level abstractions that refer to stable, generalized dispositions or modes of functioning and may take a great variety of concrete behavioral forms." 125* 15

In these terms, a statement such as *"When he saw that others avoided him, he . . .* also avoids them" indicates not only a person's desire not to associate with those who avoid him but, more important, an underlying, more general disposition *to accept and maintain a breakdown in social relations.* Moreover, the latter interpretation also encompasses such varying responses as: ". . . must not speak to them because they are bad. They

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

like to look down upon people" and ". . . probably was not generous with them, so they avoided him." The significance of this underlying interpretation becomes even more apparent when the three responses are contrasted with other possible but unoffered completions which belong to totally different interpretive categories, for example, ". . . tried to make up with them" or ". . . asked them why?" signifying *attempts to reintegrate or understand the interpersonal rupture* and ". . . felt terribly hurt," indicating *emotional pain or disturbance.*

A Working Conception of Modal Personality

Our fifth and final premise is concerned with developing a workable conception of modal personality despite the inevitable paradoxes which attend such an endeavor.

The fundamental problem here is that in abstracting out the psychological similarities which the villagers share with one another, we become unavoidably involved in the difficulties of working with "conjugate variables"; that is, the more we concern ourselves with the commonality of a personality trait, the less we simultaneously learn about the role of that trait in the functioning of the individual members of the sample. The significance of this is not so much that we sacrifice an understanding of individuals for an understanding of the group, but that in so doing we must also sacrifice some of the depth and perceptiveness of our analysis. A successful personality study is in large measure achieved by descriptive contrast: we learn more about human beings the less they appear like other people. When subtle individual differences must be submerged for purposes of group characterization, the resulting descriptions must necessarily be less sensitive and precise.

The root of the problem lies in the fact that our basic units of analyses are individuals who, despite all the similarities they share as members of Thai culture, are obviously different from one another in specifics. Moreover, as Wallace points out in a recent article (1961*a*: 147–148), from the point of view of culture-personality theory, they *must* have certain psychological differences:

> The problem of psychic unity is sometimes obscured by our tendency to regard human societies as populations and not as groups when we make psychological statements. A population of individuals may be described without references to their interrelationships; but a group cannot be considered apart from its organizational structure. Thus physical, demographic, or personality characteristics of the members of a population can be stated, explicitly or implicitly, as a statistical distribution on one or more dimensions, and to the extent that the data

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

> permit, some measure or estimate of central tendency can be calculated which will allow the attribution of some value or range on one or more dimensions to all, or a specified sub-population, of the population itself. . . .
>
> But such predicates, universally applicable to all members of a population, are inadequate for the psychological analysis of that population as a group, as an elementary consideration reveals: most culturally organized groups not merely permit but require that their members perform different roles in interaction. . . .

Although Wallace does not state it in so many words, it is apparent that he is referring to differences in age, sex, and occupational roles, or to any other roles that may be deemed important, and is assuming that the individuals who perform the roles have in some respects different personality types. (Whether the latter assumption is completely valid is still another problem. For a provocative discussion of the analytic complexity of the personality-role relationship, of the non-congruence which may occur, and of consequent psychological adjustments see Levinson 1959; Nadel 1957 also touches on the issue.) In any case, it is clear that whatever psychic unity informants have as members of the same culture, they are differentiated from each other on at least two counts: (1) their individual life experiences and genetic-constitutional backgrounds which ultimately give them each a unique personality; and (2) their performance of different social roles.

These differentiae are of course virtually self-evident. But what is not self-evident—nor easy to decide—is how much emphasis should be given to them in formulating or qualifying our conception of Thai peasant modal personality. Any decision that we make is from some point of view unsatisfactory. Should we treat our informants solely as individuals, and pursue our analysis with rigor, we would get an increasingly refined picture of the uniqueness of these individuals but, at the same time, a decreasingly clear picture of their cultural or shared characteristics. The analysis would undoubtedly be more precise but, in effect, we would be studying "idioverses"—idiosyncratic versions of culture (Mead 1958)—with little basis for determining what is culturally typical or deviant. In fact, questions of the normative or variant would become logically irrelevant. On the other hand, should we group the informants into age or sex groups and contrast the responses of these groups, it might well seem that the personality differences between men and women, for example, are greater than the similarities, or even that Thai women are more like Navaho or American women than they are like Thai men. Although I suspect that culture makes for greater psychological similarity than does sex and, as Sharp has pointed out (Sharp *et al.* 1953) Bang Chan culture is, from a cross-cultural point of view, impressive for its slight differentiation of the adult

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

roles of the sexes, such findings are not empirically impossible. Finally, should we de-emphasize the distinctions between individuals and role-defined sub-groups, and consider all the responses as a whole, we would as suggested earlier be in the best possible position for determining the villagers' modal personality but would proportionately lack analytic precision. There would always be some intra-sample differences—as far down as the individual level—which the critic could point to as requiring discrimination, although such discrimination would obviously have to be achieved at the cost of group identification.

Given these various alternatives, each of which has its merits and shortcomings, what should the analyst do? I have decided to conform to the principal aim of this research and focus primarily on total group responses, that is, on those abstracted psychological similarities which all or, more realistically, large numbers of our individual informants share with one another. Operationally, this entails investigating the responses of all informants on each SCT item rather than those of each informant on all items, and explicating the major underlying psychological theme or themes of these responses.

The inclusion of both the singular "theme" and plural "themes" in the preceding sentence is not only intentional but crucial to our formulation of modal personality. Its significance will perhaps best be seen by contrasting our approach with the two prevailing points of view governing most modal personality formulations. On the one hand, the majority of the culture-personality and particularly "national character" studies of recent years have been characterized by an assumption of psychological *unimodality*; that is, an assumption that the culture being investigated has such a high degree of psychological homogeneity that it can be portrayed as having a *single* personality pattern, with perhaps a few deviant sub-types. The assumption is based partially on precedents established within the history of ethnographic method (Herskovits 1954); partially on unconscious aesthetic considerations involved in the presentation of data (Opler 1948 on Benedict); and partially on the apparent validity of the concept in some areas of psychocultural functioning in which, once established, it is tacitly extended to include all areas. Even Wallace's sophisticated study of the modal personality of the Tuscarora (1952) is based on the premise of unimodality, although his aim is to find out precisely how *unimodal* the Tuscarora actually are.

Whatever attractiveness the premise of unimodality may have, it is clearly an oversimplification of psycho-ethnographic facts. Human beings in any culture are simply too complex to be of the same psychological stamp in all respects. In his recent paper (1961*a*), Wallace points out that a research design for the study of modal personality which involves only

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

twenty binary dimensions (which is considerably less than is actually employed in most Rorschach analyses) will yield up to 1,048,576 structural types, to which Wallace adds, "the uniformity of the population on each dimension must be impressive, or the types must be very crudely defined, before any one type is likely to acquire prevalence over any substantial proportion of the group. . . ."

Having recognized the oversimplification of the unimodal approach, however, there is no inherent necessity to go the the opposite extreme and posit a complete *multimodality*. Yet this seems to be the position taken by Inkeles and Levinson (1954) and Kaplan (1954, 1957, and Kaplan, Rickers-Ovsiankina, and Joseph 1956) who, genuinely disturbed by the stereotypy and lack of sophistication of the unimodal viewpoint, argue that cultural groups are characterized by a plurality of personality patterns. Kaplan's arguments are particularly compelling in that he bolsters them with empirical cross-cultural evidence, although he himself admits (1954) that his results may be a consequence of his particular sorting and categorizing techniques. He concludes his comparative study of Navaho and Zuni TAT's with the statement that (1957): "The influence of culture on personality does not appear to create a common personality configuration in its members, but instead tends to foster a variety of personality tendencies in small groups or clusters of individuals while leaving many aspects of personality free to vary without respect to group membership."

My position, in comparison, is that the cases for complete unimodality and complete multimodality are both overstated. What both viewpoints seem to overlook is the likelihood of there being *specific areas* of psychocultural functioning in which a high degree of homogeneity exists and *other specific areas* in which a high degree of heterogeneity comes into play. This more flexible formulation not only provides a more realistic picture of modal personality than can be had from ascriptions of wholesale uniformity and diversity but directs our attention to identifying the areas of differential frequencies and attempting to account for them. For example, I suspect that those areas characterized by a high degree of homogeneity are ones likely to be surrounded by strong cultural sanctions, or are areas of psychological "focus" (psychological parallels to Herskovits' "cultural focus," [10] as it were) or, perhaps, are areas of greatest cultural conditioning; conversely, I would think that areas of high heterogeneity most likely do

[10] Although Herskovits seems to have changed his definition of "cultural focus" over time (1945 and 1948), his first definition is most relevant to our present meaning: "that area of activity or belief where the greatest awareness of form exists, the most discussion of values is heard, the widest difference in structure is to be discerned." However, unlike his formulation, which in practice assumes only one focus in one culture, our use of the term presupposes that a culture can have a number of psychological foci.

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

not involve important social stakes (although they may involve very important personal ones, their highly charged personal nature perhaps being the very source of the heterogeneity). In these terms, I would expect Bang Chan SCT responses to be highly unimodal in the realm of authority—an area of sharp psychological focus—but relatively multimodal in the area of friendship. In any case, it would seem to me that whatever the ultimate reasons for an area being unimodal or multimodal, the identification of these areas is in itself an important task.

In the light of these remarks, I have tried to avoid establishing rigid rules about the number of major themes which may emerge from the responses to the various SCT items. The discussion which follows, and the SCT material itself, is organized in terms of specific areas of psychological functioning, and a table accompanies each SCT item. The tables are organized thematically and are designed to exemplify characteristic responses for each theme discussed in the test, although some of the minor themes and sub-themes are excluded for the sake of simplicity. The number of responses given under each thematic heading reflects the *approximate* percentage of all responses which are included in that theme. A theme is defined as an underlying, generalized psychological orientation encompassing the raw responses of two or more informants—the supposition being that it takes at least two to make a theme shared or "cultural." [11] The determination of a theme is explicitly weighted in the unimodal direction but is constrained by the nature of the responses themselves. No explicit criteria have been established for deciding the number of themes which may emerge before declaring an item, and the area it represents, either unimodal or multimodal. In fact, in terms of our empirical operations, these terms are viewed simply as ideal types. Also, it should be remembered that some of our responses are multidimensional in nature; that is, like much communication they simultaneously reveal several meanings and are interpretable from several perspectives. In this case, each perspective can conceivably yield a different number of themes. The number of simultaneous themes that occur are determined solely by the patterning of the responses themselves. Given these considerations, the statements that are made about the unimodal or multimodal nature of an area are phrased simply in terms of general comparisons as we move from one area to another. Since we are not using any fine statistical methods, this procedure is clearly the most efficient to follow.

[11] It is recognized, of course, that it is possible for responses to be shared by two or more informants solely on the bases of fortuitous factors or on the basis of the principle of limited possibilities. All human behavior, cultural or otherwise, is ultimately limited by such simple statistical considerations.

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

*125 *128 *156 they manage not to harm the self. The interpersonal relationship is the major component of their evaluation in the sense that they are either indifferent to, or highly tolerant of, character traits of other people that exist outside the purview of their contact with them. In effect, villagers seem to assume that a person can be anything he wants to be, so long as his behavior is not detrimental to others. Villagers respond in a highly favorable manner to persons who conceal their feelings, and explain their approval by saying that such behavior helps minimize social conflict, particularly conflict of which they may be the object. Their commendation of people who control their feelings is extreme, taking the form of calling them "just," "good," "brave," "pure," and "thoughtful." In their interpersonal contacts, villagers say they are most careful about the effect of their words on others, and one informant presents what is perhaps the perfect summation of the role of politeness in their lives when he says that, in his relations with people, he is most careful "not to talk about important matters." For a sizable minority of villagers, the data also indicate a sense of untrustworthiness about the motives of others. The major forms of this lack of trust are that others will steal from or physically harm them, be treacherous, slander, or gossip about them. Our observational materials suggest that although their anxiety may have realistic foundation with regard to others gossiping about them, and perhaps slandering them, this would not be true in the case of others stealing or doing them physical harm. These fears are probably symbolic expressions of a more diffuse anxiety about harm to the self through the medium of interpersonal relationships. Whether anxiety about interpersonal relationships is indeed the major form of anxiety in Bang Chan will be investigated in the next section.

Anxiety and Reactions to Crises

• 121 152 In this section we are dealing with materials that present the most ticklish analytic problems we will encounter. We know from American culture that persons identify as sources of anxiety issues which are genuine existential problems (illness; payment of bills; how to deal with an arbitrary boss); issues which by most culturally "reasonable" standards should not be sources of anxiety, but which are nevertheless felt that way (how to obtain a beautiful or handsome figure with the least amount of effort); and issues which by both cultural and personal standards of "reasonableness" are not considered valid sources of anxiety, but which are nevertheless "understood" and tolerated (fear of thunder, wild animals, flying insects). In the last two cases, we know that the expressed anxiety usually symbolizes some other threat, which is considerably more crucial but unknown. And in the

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

last instance, we know that the fanciful fear often serves the vital function of binding what might otherwise be extremely painful free-floating anxiety.[6] We also know from American culture that there are many objective sources of threat existing in the environment which are rarely identified as objects of anxiety, unless directly or imminently encountered, *e.g.*, being struck by an automobile. Finally, we know that there are objects or sources of anxiety that may be denied as such because of the cultural values associated with being fearful or brave: it is possible for a teen-ager to admit anxiety over an examination or an important "date," but usually not when he is asked to perform a daring deed by a group of his peers.

The point of these remarks is that despite our familiarity with the various forms and functions of anxiety, we are still hard put in most instances to identify the precise psychodynamic role of an anxiety response when it is expressed by individuals in our own culture. The problem is compounded immeasurably when we attempt to do this with members of another culture. It is for this reason that the responses below will be accepted as those things which actually frighten or worry the villagers of Bang Chan, and will not be examined for any intrapsychic functions that they may serve. The few interpretive excursions of this type that we took earlier in the text (e.g., the villagers' concern about a superior feeding them well) were sanctioned principally by the context in which the responses were made. Here, informants are asked to indicate their anxieties under a completely unspecified set of conditions.

Actually, most of the responses given below are, in terms of the villagers' culturally constituted reality, of a highly reasonable nature, suggesting that informants are reacting in terms of their genuine existential concerns. Being bitten by a cobra is a dangerous (although not a likely) possibility, and although a few villagers may hesitate *on direct questioning* to declare their belief in malevolent spirits (translated below as "ghosts"), all know about such spirits and at one time or another have performed acts to propitiate them, indicating considerable psychic investment in their reality. Although in some cases one might wonder about the motivations behind them, the responses make complete sense.

The responses to the first item, *"He was most afraid of . . ."* fall into three major categories. The vast majority of villagers (61 percent) are frightened by experiences, actually *possibilities* (and again, in their unpredictable world, the possible is psychologically critical) which threaten

[6] The major analytic difference between *anxiety* and *fear* is, in fact, that the latter is "bound" anxiety, *i.e.*, the anxiety has assumed a concrete, objective representation which the individual at least can deal with: by avoidance, doing battle with it, laughing over it, and the like.

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

*125 *128 152 *156 fundamental security about their own *psychological* worth. This is undoubtedly abetted by the fact that the modes of social interaction in Bang Chan do not demand too much from the individual, as well as the fact that the individual, with his profound sense of free choice, often ignores or isolates himself from the impingements of others. (That a stance of psychic isolation is not necessarily maladaptive will be discussed in the final chapter.) When asked how they would react to frightening or worrisome situations, most villagers respond in terms of maintaining their inner psychic stability and in terms of accepting and tolerating these familiar psychic pressures. Their responses are non-constructive, but are highly congruent with their passive and secure orientations to the world. Their responses to "anxiety" tend toward psychological "unimodality" at an interpretive level, although in the last two cases the descriptive similarity of the responses first suggest a bi-modal distribution.

Aggression: Causes and Reactions

• 121 152 Analyzing "aggression" in Bang Chan is very much like analyzing "sex" in contemporary American culture. The category represents at one and the same time one of the most obvious and one of the most convoluted areas of the villagers' psychological lives.

152 *156 571 The most obvious fact about aggression in Bang Chan is that villagers cannot tolerate its spontaneous, direct expression in face-to-face relationships. This is demonstrated not only by the general absence of overt aggression in such relationships but by the elaborate array of devices that villagers use to control its expression: giggling when making or receiving an untoward request, using a go-between to soften the demand of an interpersonal lien, leaving the field at the slightest hint of provocation (whether the provocation is intended or not), as well as the more general use of flattery, comedy, and self-effacement (*kreeŋcaj*). The repeated use of these devices as well as the villagers' evaluations of "people who never show their feelings" (see tables 16 and 17) reveal their sensitivity to aggression as a latent, but intrinsic, attribute of most social encounters. In fact, their evaluations of people who inhibit their feelings—or their *assumptions* about the inherently hostile nature of such feelings—suggest that their recognition of the potentiality of aggression (whether in themselves or others) is quite conscious.

The net result of these orientations is to give face-to-face contacts an aura of surface pleasantness, but at the same time a high degree of brittleness. Over and over again, villagers indicate that they prefer not to have any relationship at all than to have one that is even tinged with hostility.

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

that an instrument such as the SCT should never be used by itself, or at least not without some reference to behavioral data. The SCT, or my particular version of it, could not readily get at the process of psychological commitment that plays such an important role in the lives of the villagers, and which underlies their "loosely structured social system." In fact, the handling of this process may well be one of the most interesting things about the villagers. In a somewhat oblique way, the SCT data implied the importance of this process: so many of the villagers' responses were phrased in terms of fulfilling social forms and rituals, that an analyst might question the degree of psychological commitment behind them. However, "psychological commitment"—the reliability, depth, and constancy of relationships; the degree of involvement necessary for insuring that an interactional event will even take place—cannot begin to be recognized as an analytic problem until one sees beyond the very social situations that pres[illegible]e it, and this can probably only be done by naturalistic observation and interpretation.

While the SCT and observational data did not contain any striking empirical inconsistencies, they did demonstrate the significance of an issue raised early in this study: the problem of whether the culturally interesting or distinctive is the same as the culturally frequent or modal. The analyses indicated that for the most part these two types of characterization were not incongruent. Thus, the extreme individualism and self-concern of the villagers emerged unmistakably from both sets of data. However, there were instances when the two kinds of characterization were not isomorphic, and resulted in conclusions quite different from those originally expected. Thus, on the basis of the observational materials, I fully anticipated that anxiety about interpersonal relationships would emerge in the SCT responses as the villagers' most frequent form of anxiety. The amount of gossip that occurs in the community, the references that one hears to slander, the touchiness that villagers exhibit in their actual relations with others, all pointed to this conclusion. These were the appraisals of an outside observer struck by the "different" and "unusual" facets of the culture he was studying. Yet the SCT data indicated beyond all doubt that interpersonal anxieties were not, from the villagers' point of view, their most typical form of anxiety. They were worried more about their stomachs than their hearts.[1] This conclusion, deduced from the villagers' own per-

[1] One might argue here from a psychoanalytic point of view that the stomach is simply a substitute for the heart. However, one might also argue from a psychoanalytic point of view that the heart is simply a substitute for the stomach. This Freudian principle of the substitutability of needs cannot by itself account for the *direction* of the substitution (unless one assumes a doctrinaire early Freudian or neo-Freudian position) nor can it prove the *existence* of the hypothetical substitution. These can be demonstrated only by detailed, empirical data on the traumata, repressions, fixations,

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

*125 152 ceptions, took on additional significance when related to the sense of psychological worth and self-love that the people of Bang Chan *also* exhibit. Again, the essential issue here is not the presence or absence of anxiety about interpersonal relationships. There is little doubt that villagers do suffer such anxiety. Rather, the question is one of *relative* frequency, and, by implication, the *relative* importance of such suffering to the *total* need and deprivation system of the villagers. It is precisely with regard to this larger kind of question that an instrument such as the SCT can provide context and perspective.

Turning to the theoretical issues that have been raised or suggested by the data, perhaps the most important is the problem of "conformity" as it relates to the villagers' loosely structured social system. This problem is of course at the center of all social psychological research. It is concerned with how, why, and the extent to which individuals relate to their social environments. In fact, in a recent paper aimed at synthesizing the theoretical premises underlying most current culture personality research, Bert Kaplan (1961*b*) presents a cogently argued case for the necessity of anthropologists and psychologists to shift their attention from the study of why individuals behave in particular ways to the study of this more generalized disposition. He says (665–666):

114 • 121 *156

> Up to now our emerging theory appears to suggest a jungle-like situation in which wholly free and autonomous individuals, in a relatively opportunistic way, make use of the available channels of social partici-

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*125 121 152 regressions, and other psychodynamic processes of informants. Even so, it is highly unlikely that the anxiety responses of adults are *simply* the result of a series of unconscious processes—substitutive, projective, or otherwise. It must be remembered that an anxiety response is just as often a function of the ego, oriented to and in the service of the organism's reality needs, as it is a function of unconscious needs derived from the difficulties of the developmental process. When we consider that the villagers live in one of the most unpredictable universes imaginable and that they are a people entering the throes of a revolution of rising expectations, it is not at all surprising that they should feel anxious about threats to their physical well-being, expressed as a fear of going hungry or being poor. In fact, I would suggest that at bottom these are expressions of an existential anxiety about the essential instability, uncertainty, and impermanence of all life (including their own), an anxiety which has its cognitive basis in the "Wheel of Law" and other Buddhist doctrine. It might be argued that since, objectively viewed, the villagers are well fed and enjoy one of the highest standards of living in Asia, such anxieties are without foundation. I would answer by saying that the villagers are not aware of the per capita income figures for Asia, and that "reality" for any people is how they subjectively perceive and define it, not what it objectively is. To say that there is no realistic basis for the villagers' anxiety about going hungry and being poor is like saying that there is no realistic basis for their belief in interminable existences or in the timeless continuity of the self. In both instances they believe these things to be the case, and ultimately that is what is important.

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

pation and the rewards that are attached to them. . . . However, there is much evidence that conformity is ordinarily a generalized and diffuse disposition, not something that occurs only when some desired reward is in sight. One might say that it is the basic way of life of all but a few persons in any society. The essential meaning of most social action is not that the actor wishes to do this or that act, but that he wishes to stand in a conformative relationship to the social demands that exist in the situation. In the great majority of social situations most of us are not concerned with the problem of what to do, but much more with the problem of finding out what it is that would be appropriate. When we know what this is, compliance follows almost automatically. The basic fact is that we are mostly good citizens, persons who want to do what is right, correct, decent, and fitting. The culture and personality issue that we have been working to define so far, is not why persons wish to do this or that act, but why they are good citizens. Or, in other terms, what is the motivational basis for the generalized disposition to conformity. . . .

The approach outlined in this highly persuasive argument would clearly contribute to increased understanding of the functioning of social systems, particularly complex, smoothly operating ones. However, on the basis of our Thai materials, I wonder if it is not in fact based on the highly debatable assumptions that (a) all social systems function *equally* smoothly; (b) that all social systems are *equally* demanding in their functional requirements for people to conform; and (c) that persons in *different* societies are *equally* motivated, through socialization or otherwise, to conform. Kaplan in fact says: "One might say that it [conformity] is the basic way of life of all but a few persons in *any* society." (Italics added.) It seems to me that Thai culture provides a powerful argument for the capacity of a social system to function and of its members to have reasonably satisfying relationships with one another (they get done in a pleasant way the things that have to be done) while the standards for and dispositions to conformity are very low indeed. Again, it is perfectly true that Bang Chaners are highly motivated to conform, and even to over-conform, in face-to-face relationships. However, the most striking characteristic of these relationships is not the conformity exhibited in them. It is rather that there is never any assurance that the relationships will actually occur, or if they do occur, that the commitments undertaken in one face-to-face encounter will be carried over to the next. The conformity typically is immediate, short-lived, and uncertain. Bang Chaners may wish "to stand in a conformative relationship to the social demands that exist in the situation." But they first must make a judgment on whether or not to stand in that relationship, a decision that is very much based on their being "free and autonomous individuals, [who] in a relatively opportunistic way, make use of the

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

*156 available channels of social participation and the rewards that are attached to them. . . ."

• 121 114 15 Without claiming in any way to know the thinking that prompted Kaplan's provocative comments on the importance of the motivation of conformity in shaping action, I wonder if it is not based on the supposition that situations in all cultures are similar to those that we typically encounter in our own highly complex, functionally specific culture—a culture which, *if it is to operate in the highly complex and relatively efficient way we know it*, requires that individuals conform to the demands of their tasks. In other terms, to what extent is the argument for conformity based on the supposition that the majority of relationships in most societies are similar to those which obtain, for example, between workers on an assembly line or between a secretary and her employer, where, if conformity were not maintained most of the time, the consequences would be functionally disastrous, disastrous to the very *purpose* of the relationship? While I take issue here with Kaplan, there is one crucial aspect in which I am in complete agreement with what he seems to be aiming at. That is, if his argument is in fact based upon, and directed at understanding, a strictly American model, I can thoroughly understand the import of his question: "What is the motivational basis for the generalized disposition to conformity . . . [?]" After living in Thailand for several months and observing, and often identifying with, the ease with which individuals pursued their own purposes, oblivious to the requirements of conformity, I began to wonder not about the Thai capacity to maintain loosely structured relationships but about the considerably more mystifying American capacity to conform to the expectations of others. From a *psychological* point of view, the latter is by far the more difficult and demanding, requiring as it does inhibition of and control over one's own desires and a deeply developed predisposition to orient oneself to others. How this orientation is developed and sustained on such a pervasive scale as is found in American culture—particularly with regard to the rewards involved ("Are *instrumental* rewards such as money really sufficient to link person A to person B?")—is clearly, as Kaplan suggests by his posing of the issue, an analytic problem the motivational details of which we presently have only the dimmest understanding. To a certain extent this orientation is explicable in terms of the simple malleability of human beings; in terms of the consummatory rewards that instrumental satisfactions eventually lead to; or perhaps in terms of what Wallace (1957) calls, "cultural identification," or the love of one's culture patterns for their own sake (in this case, love of the modes of social interaction to be found in one's culture). This last would involve interactional patterns assuming a *motivational* "functional autonomy" (Allport 1937) of their own, that is, ego deriving an *intrinsic*

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

satisfaction from fulfilling another's expectations. However, it is clear that the actual motivational process individuals go through in order to learn to be concerned with the expectations of others—and considering the pervasiveness of this concern, it must involve either intensive or sustained learning—has yet to be examined in a ramified way.[2]

To my knowledge, the only scholars to address themselves directly to the question of the motivations and rewards for conformity are Kaplan in an earlier paper (1957) and Parsons (1952, 1961, and Parsons *et al.* 1953). Kaplan argued that there are two motivational tendencies making for conformity: the desire to behave morally and the desire to please others. The former tendency is quite explicable in terms of the development and functioning of the super-ego (a universal human attribute), and by emphasizing this, particularly with his later use of the pointed phrase, "good citizen," Kaplan's contribution is considerable. However, the latter consideration begs the question of why individuals should be so motivated to please others, and raises the additional problem, as I have done here, of whether all people are equally motivated in such directions. Parsons' early discussions of conformity simply propound the "evaluative, cognitive, and cathectic" satisfactions that the fulfillment of prescribed patterns award to the individual. In his later, more carefully elaborated essay, he sees the roots of conformity in the inherent helplessness of the human infant. In what is essentially a masterful sociological translation of Freud, he argues that conformity develops into a "generalized goal" or "mode of organization of the ego" as the individual successively identifies with, cathects, and internalizes the attitudes of the powerful figures (his parents) who respond to his helplessness. In this sense, Parsons seems to be arguing that the individual's major initial reward for conformity is the maintenance of his own life. The individual's conformity is gradually generalized as he goes through successive developmental stages, reaching its crystallization—the "point of no return," as it were—in the painful options of the Oedipal

[2] The theories that have been most concerned with the nature of conformity and "self-other" orientations—role theory and "symbolic interactionist" theory—have for the most part viewed the *motivations* and *rewards* for conformity as self-evident. That is, the immense literature of these "schools" has tended to focus not on why individuals should wish to conform in the first place, but on the skills, consequences, and non-motivational processes of conformative behavior. Writers such as G. H. Mead (1934), Cameron and Magaret (1951), Sarbin (1954), Shibutani (1961), and Rose (1962) all recognize the necessity of individuals to be socialized into conformity, but they go no further than describing the manifest processes of socialization—"intentional instruction" and "incidental learning," "imitation" and "spontaneous play activities." Having once mentioned these processes, they simply go on to assume that the conformative motivation is thoroughly internalized and self-sustaining. The only exception I have found is Shibutani who addresses himself to the matter of reward in a single sentence (1961: 509): "For most children, the voluntary inhibition of impulses begins with attempts to please those whom they admire."

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

121 114 15 situation. It might be added that since the Oedipal situation is very much of a moral crisis, Parsons' arguments go far in supporting Kaplan's earlier contentions. Parsons, however, says little about the *different* ways in which parents respond to the child's helplessness and little about *variations* in the intensity and types of identifications, cathexes, and internalizations that the individual may implement—factors which would obviously lead to different kinds of conformative tendencies. Our earlier materials on Bang Chan socialization are particularly instructive on this point. In fact, if Parsons' formulation were linked to those data, it would go a long way to explain precisely why Bang Chaners have such a weakly developed sense of conformity. In the same way, the contrast helps to underscore the profound sense of interpersonal involvement, dependence, and concern inculcated in members of our own culture during the developmental process. To Parsons, the quintessence of these interpersonal investments is, of course, the Oedipal situation: the prototypic encounter with the power of external authority and all that such power implies for the individual's need to conform and to deny and control his own impulses. If this interpretation is correct, it would further suggest that the Oedipal situation must be based, *in the first instance*, on the developmental experience of close interpersonal involvement—an experience which, as our Thai data demonstrate, is subject to broad cross-cultural variation.

*128 *156 The problem of "conformity" raises an additional question, one that has been implicit to many of our earlier remarks, but which merits explicit consideration in these final pages. At several points in the text, it was suggested that the villagers, with their profound sense of self-concern and freedom of choice, often choose to ignore or to isolate themselves from the effects and influences of others. This kind of behavior is a major dimension of their loosely structured relationships; it appears as well in their handling of dependency, anxiety, and aggression. From a psychological point of view, the behavior can be interpreted in one of two ways. On the one hand, it can be interpreted to mean that the villagers have difficulty in relating themselves to others, and use isolation as a means of defense. Implicit here is the notion of emotional deprivation, for who but a deprived person should wish to withdraw from contact with others? On the other hand, the behavior can be read to mean that the villagers are emotionally tough, and simply do not need other people very much. Here isolation is seen as self-reliance and mature emotional security. Throughout this study, I have chosen to stress the latter interpretation.

*128 114 *156 181 This kind of interpretation is not an easy one to justify in contemporary Western social science. Implicit to almost all of our thinking is the Judaeo-Christian assumption (more recently codified by Durkheim and Freud) that the greatest psychological pleasures an individual experiences are

and KY followed by a number.) The center of social life in Bang Chan is the Buddhist monastery or wat and the adjacent government primary school. The community simply consists of the clientele which regularly patronizes Wat Bang Chan and this school rather than other comparable institutions elsewhere in the region. Within the area of the community lives a minority of Thai Moslems constituting about ten per cent of the population. They have their own mosque which happens to be just outside Bang Chan, but they attend many secular and some Buddhist functions at Wat Bang Chan. A number of small stores, which also serve as coffee houses and men's clubs, are used as neighborhood centers in different parts of the village. Near the central wat and school, there is also a store, and the house provided by one of the headmen for use as the Project headquarters.

This present interim report of the Cornell Thailand Project includes some of the data necessary for the design of a program to improve health and diet in Bang Chan. Another report, now in preparation, will give the results of a detailed dietary survey made in the community following the health survey reported on here. These two studies together will indicate existing deficiencies in health and diet, and will permit the formulation of recommendations for needed changes in behavior as these can be realized in the context of the village and national culture.

The author of this study, Dr. Hazel M. Hauck, is Professor of Food and Nutrition in Cornell University. She has been associated with the work of the Cornell Thailand Project since 1950. She not only designed and supervised the research on health, nutritional status, and diet in Bang Chan, but during almost a year of field work in Thailand she obtained valuable data on many other topics for the Project's files. Some of her daily work in Bang Chan made little sense to the villagers, but they nevertheless became devoted to her. Her energy, tact and fine spirit in facing the discomforts and difficulties of rough field work in a tropical foreign land inspired both her Thai and American associates. Working with Professor Hauck were Dr. Amusith Rajatasilpin, now a teacher in the School of Public Health in Bangkok; Miss Sapha Indrasud, now in the Ministry of Public Health; Dr. Chumlong Kittiveja, of the Dental School of the University of Medical Sciences, Bangkok; and Miss Saovanee Sudsaneh, who has been doing post-graduate work in nutrition at Cornell and Harvard. To all of these faithful workers, the Cornell Thailand Project is greatly indebted.

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BANG CHAN

14 observed in 9% of the school children 7 to 14 years of age who were examined, and in about 6% of the males and 25% of the females over 15 years of age. Of 337 persons examined, however, 2 only, one child and one adult female, were found to have hemoglobin values under 9.75 g per 100 ml.

774 Modern sanitation was practically unknown in Bang Chan. Few families had covered pit latrines or made any effort to [514] cover excreta. Intestinal parasitism was common. Garbage [064] might be fed to animals, but was frequently thrown into the [364] canal or elsewhere about the compound. Provisions for protecting foods from contamination were meager.

When rain water was available, it was used for drinking, but several months each year water from the canals or fish ponds was used without prior treatment. For washing vegetables, cooking and washing dishes, canal and pond water was used throughout the year.

774 A few changes in sanitary practices, if they could be
751 brought about, might reduce some kinds of illness substantially. For example, if the villagers would adopt the practice of boiling pond or canal water whenever it is to be used for drinking, contamination from this source would be materially reduced.

Use of boiled water for bathing babies and all persons with abrasions or open wounds would probably reduce the incidence of skin infections, and enable those which do occur to heal more quickly.

Infantile tetanus could be largely if not entirely prevented if the local midwives were taught to use sterile scissors for cutting the cord, and to avoid contact of the cord with soil.

758 Modern medicine will probably not be readily or generally available to a majority of the residents of Bang
• 121 Chan for many years to come. The first step toward better health in a village such as Bang Chan appears to be to teach the people, through their local leaders and practitioners, to adopt improved health practices. To be effective, such teaching must be based not only on a knowledge of what the people do, but on an understanding of the way they think and feel about customary practices.

BANG CHAN

Introduction

121 This investigation was undertaken in connection with the Cornell Thailand Project, one of several studies under the auspices of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology which are focused on the process of cultural change. Bang Chan, the community chosen for intensive investigation, has been described previously (Sharp et al., 1953). The studies to be reported [101] herein were designed to contribute to a baseline description of the community culture and were carried out during the first and second years of a 5-year project, i.e. from September 1952-May 1954.

114 For the clinical examination of the school children and families, the research group consisted of Dr. Ismaith Rajatasilpin, Miss Sapha Indrasud, Dua Srisuay, a local villager who assisted in many practical ways, and the author, who assumed major responsibility for planning and directing the work. Dr. Chumlong Kittiveja, of the Dental School, University of Medical Sciences, Bangkok, examined the teeth of the school children. Some data on sanitary practices were collected by Miss Saovanee Sudsaneh, in connection with the dietary survey.

121 The main investigations undertaken fall into two categories: 1) studies of nutritional status and 2) dietary studies, both qualitative and quantitative. In connection with both types of studies, information was collected concerning certain aspects of health and of sanitation in the village. Additional data concerning health practices, illness and death in Bang Chan were recorded by members of the Cornell research group in their field notes. This present report is concerned primarily with presenting findings from all of those sources regarding aspects of the health, sanitation and nutritional status in this rural Thai community.

Methods

Clinical Examination

125 Schedule. - In general, the clinical examination was directed toward discovery of signs and symptoms which might either be indicative of nutritional deficiency or of some disturbance which might be associated with or lead to nutritional deficiency. Certain items, such as cristal height, bicristal diameter, and age at menarche were included because information concerning them would contribute to our knowledge of norms for Thai people, and the clinical examination presented a good opportunity for obtaining such information.

BANG CHAN

Nutrition (1951) the part played by diet in the production of tooth which are unduly susceptible to caries is still controversial, although in general, the importance of nutrition, especially in the formative period, is widely accepted. In accordance with the recommendation of this Committee, caries rates are recorded as a separate item, and are not taken as a criterion of malnutrition.

Dentition. - Median ages of eruption of specific permanent teeth in 240 Bang Chan children, ages 7 to 14, are shown in Table 20 (Appendix B). For this purpose, data on 226 children in the Bang Chan primary school, and 14 additional children between these ages, in the random sample, were included. The percentage of boys and girls at each age, having each specific tooth erupted, was calculated. Median ages of eruption were estimated according to the method suggested by Klein et al. (1937). A graph was drawn for each kind of tooth, for each sex. Cumulated percentages for each specified kind of tooth erupted were represented on the x axis and age in years at one year intervals on the y axis. Median age of eruption was estimated by determining the point at which the age percentage eruption curve cut the 50% perpendicular.

In Bang Chan, as elsewhere, the median age of eruption for specific teeth is lower for girls than for boys. In some cases the difference is slight, in others, from several months to more than a year. The difference is most marked for lower canine teeth.

The average number of teeth, deciduous, permanent and total, at each age, is shown for children 7 to 14 years of age, in Table 21 (Appendix B). For ages 8 to 13, the greater dental maturity of girls than boys is reflected in the larger average number of permanent teeth present at each age.

On the basis of median ages of eruption for specific teeth, and the number of permanent teeth per child at each age level, dental maturity of children in Bang Chan appeared to be approximately the same as for children in other regions, in both eastern and western hemispheres, with which they were compared. Although the average number of teeth at some ages was lower for children in Bang Chan than for American or English children, the differences were neither marked nor consistent (Kamalanathan, 1956).

Caries Incidence. - Caries incidence was found to be low among Bang Chan children as compared to many regions in which surveys have been made. Of 226 children examined by the dentist, 42% (45% of the boys and 38% of the girls) were totally free of caries. When all carious teeth, both deciduous and permanent, were included, the average number of carious teeth per child was 1.8 (1.6 for boys and 2.0 for girls).

145 not recall the age at menarche.

The median and modal reported age at menarche was 15 years, with a range from 13-19 years (Table 11).

Table 11

Reported Age at Menarche of 94 Females in Bang Chan.

	Age in Years						
	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
Number at each age	6	18	34	21	8	4	3
Percentage at each age	6	19	36	22	9	4	3

This estimate, made from ages given by recall, is necessarily approximate; however, none of the girls between 12 and 14 who were examined clinically, had passed the menarche. Moreover, median and modal ages at menarche were 15 years for sub-groups aged 15 to 24, and 25 to 39 at the time of inquiry, hence the inclusion in this series of women for whom the event was not recent did not alter the estimated median age at menarche. Wilson and Sutherland (1953) conclude that in tropical countries the onset of menstruation as compared with that for English children, 145 may be either early or late. Tanner (1955) notes that if 114 climate has an effect on age at menarche, it must be a minor one, • 121 and that at present the effect of race cannot be disentangled from nutritional and socio-economic circumstances. Basing his [146] judgment on the effects on man of famine associated with war, and on results of direct experiments on animals, Tanner expresses the conviction that nutrition plays a major role in determining the age at which menarche and the adolescent spurt in growth occur. If this view is correct, the relatively late median age of menarche in Bang Chan may be associated with inferior nutritional status.

145 One of 17 women in the age group 35-44 had passed the menopause, whereas 12 of 16 women over 45 years of age had done so. One of 7 women over 55 years of age, 2 of 7 women age 50-54, and one of 2 women age 45-49 had not yet reached the menopause. The reported ages at menopause were: 30-34 years, 2 women; 40-44 years, 3 women; 45-49 years, 3 women and 50-54, 5 women.

147 Approximately 100 respondents gave information concerning

6: Goldsen and Ralis Z-4,5 (1955) 1957
AO7 Central Thai AO7

FOREWORD

Having two portraits of a community produced by two different field workers is itself a signal event in anthropology, but to have two portraits of the same subject by workers using different methods is unique. A portrait of Bang Chan is being made in traditional style under the Cornell Thailand Project, using unstructured interviews and intuitive judgment to reach generalisations. In contrast this data paper suggests a photograph of a detail made with Dr. Max Ralis as cameraman and Dr. Rose K. Goldsen as darkroom expert who hands us the final print. Dr. Goldsen is Co-Director of the Cornell Cross-Cultural Methodology Project; Dr. Ralis, Field Director of that project.

Dr. Ralis visited Bang Chan in May, 1955 where, after preparing his questionnaire, he proceeded with the assistance of specially recruited interviewers to visit every household in the community within the course of four weeks. His task was facilitated by advice from orthodox field workers in formulating the questions into colloquial Thai as well as in selecting the relevant indices for inquiry. The details of training interviewers and collecting data appear in the Appendix. Then with suitcase bulging with completed schedules he returned to Ithaca and completed preliminary tabulation of the results before being called away to new work. He left the legacy of further analysis to Dr. Goldsen who produced the present study without benefit of first-hand knowledge of Bang Chan.

The problem was to see if these data could be used to analyze which populations in Bang Chan benefited from agricultural innovation and modern medical facilities and to distinguish how this group might differ from the remainder that did not avail itself of the new. The survey of the acceptance of innovations in Bang Chan parallels similar studies conducted by the Cross-Cultural Methodology Project in other areas where Cornell maintains field stations: Peru, India, and Nova Scotia. The aim of this project is to determine the cultural conditions under which customarily used methods of data-gathering are analytically useful, and to develop techniques for adapting these methods to the demands of varying cultural milieux. Bang Chan provided a laboratory, so to speak, to test the analytic usefulness of the social survey in a cultural context that varied considerably from Western culture, where survey methods have been developed. As one also interested in this aspect of Bang Chan, I found her steps in identifying the context of innovation a fascinating sequence. Field workers are prone to generalise after a few visits.

121 I recall seeing portable motors stored in some Bang Chan houses and
[243] can still picture many threshing floors with neatly layered heaps
[244] of rice straw where the mushrooms grew. A few of these apparently "progressive" farmers had special ponds to which they proudly invited me to watch the feeding of the tilapia fish. Occasionally one of them seized the opportunity of my visit to inquire about sending a sick kinsman to a Bangkok hospital. Without Dr. Goldsen's analysis I might easily have been lured to generalize that certain farmers were "innovation minded."

*177 The survey's evidence against a general "innovation mindedness"
*178 cautioned me to reconsider my impressions. I realized that it would
121 be an oversimplification of the social network in Bang Chan to
621 think of it as containing a group of "progressives" who sought avidly each new agricultural wrinkle and who pitted themselves against another group of "conservatives" who resisted change. Instead I was led to see some farmers interested in certain new things, others indifferent to these but interested in other things. Bang Chan looked more like a mosaic of small groups, each fitting or rejecting the new according to its circumstance.

*177 Instead of thinking simply of a group of highly motivated,
*178 wealthy farmers who assumed the responsibility of trying out the
243 new for the benefit of their less affluent neighbors, I was
244 alerted to recognize a variety of kinds of innovation. Innovation in growing rice, where one might employ a motor or fertilizer, differed considerably from earning extra cash during the dry season by growing mushrooms. The analysis of the survey evidence made me sensitive to the realization that mushroom culture was clearly a seasonal activity requiring little investment and open to any family, rich or poor, that needed cash. Certainly no genuine rice farmer would permit this extra work to interfere when the rains called time for ploughing. The finding that no correlation existed between acceptance of motors and growing mushrooms seemed in retrospect clear, almost self-evident.

*177 The survey analysis indicating that owning a motor, despite
182 my initial impressions, bears no relation to use of modern medical
244 facilities, made me reexamine my initial impressions. My own
757 studies had made me aware that making a living is a positive action among Bang Chan farmers: it requires forethought and will. Health, however, for Bang Chan is a kind of negative entity to be taken for granted until sickness arrives. Bang Chan has no vitamin pills nor tonics to maintain health, though all work actively to relieve sickness. Growing mushrooms and using modern medical facilities are phenomenally different undertakings. Certainly the survey analysis in this regard bore out and corroborated this "thematic" analysis.

6: Goldsen and Rallis Z-4.5 (1955) 1957
AO7 Central Thai AO7

INITIAL ACCEPTANCE OF INNOVATIONS IN BANG CHAN

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The Concept of Acceptance of Innovations

The study of culture change is enlightened by specific investigations of how the members of a community come to accept an innovation, ultimately incorporating it in the fabric of their familiar and accepted cultural ways. The present analysis examines data collected in Bang Chan by means of survey interviews,* to see what light may be thrown on the factors accelerating acceptance of certain innovations in that particular village.

Before turning to the analysis of the data collected in one particular community, however, it is important to make two general, theoretical points: the first has to do with a logical analysis of the elements intrinsic in the concept "acceptance of innovations" by a community or a social aggregate; the second has to do with the underlying logic of the analytic procedure utilized in this paper.

The concept "acceptance of an innovation" may be better analyzed if it is broken down into three separate facets. One important facet of "acceptance" is the initial adoption or trial of the innovation by one or more persons of a group. A second facet is the continued use of the innovation. Finally, the third facet can be viewed as the individual's psychological acceptance of the idea of the innovation when it is fully incorporated into his community's way of life.

Both initial acceptance and continued use may be independent of psychological acceptance, and vice versa. An innovation such as contraceptives might be used by individuals (even though it conflicts with concepts already present in the culture). The Salk vaccine might be culturally and psychologically accepted by many, on the other hand, even though they may have no opportunity or desire to use it for themselves or others.

A complete analysis of the concept "acceptance of innovations" would deal with all three of its facets. The present report, however deals specifically with the first two only.

A Note on the Logic of Correlational Analysis

The generalizations reached in the present study are based on statistical correlations of responses collected in a social survey. These generalizations are of two main types. First: the frequency distribution of any given item or variable lead to generalizations

* For a discussion of how the survey was made, see Appendix A.

• 121 concerning the climate of opinion in the sample studied. The apparent precision of these frequency distributions, however, should not be misleading, for the specific magnitude of any given percentage distribution might have fluctuated considerably, had the questionnaire been worded slightly differently, or had the conditions of administration been slightly varied. These distributions may be considered reasonably accurate, however, within their own context. They cannot be expected to hold true for all time, for all places, or for all instruments; nevertheless, the varying magnitudes within a category (more people say a than say b), and the range of the categories used (almost all; a large majority, more than half, less than half, a small minority, a negligible proportion) can be considered accurate descriptive statements.

Second: the internal relationships between different variables lead to generalizations of greater stability than the frequency distributions. Thus, generalizations describing the way subgroups of the population vary from each other may be considered relatively stable.

Cross-tabular analysis provides evidence for these generalizations, following the logic of the ex-post facto experimental model. The linkage between variables is determined by observing how those members of the sample who differ from each other on the first variable, distribute on the second. It is this kind of analysis which is commonly carried out in studies of epidemiology. Such studies search for the possible correlates of a disease or pathology by means of the same kinds of cross-tabular comparisons. Before the tubercle bacillus has been isolated, it was important to study the relation of the sick and healthy portions of the population to urban and rural residence, family income, living conditions, etc. In the search for causes of traffic accidents, those persons with and those without a record of accidents can be compared in age, drinking habits, time of day or any other characteristics which may lead to significant clues.

The present study follows precisely the same line of reasoning. It examines the reported incidence of use of each of several innovations (not tuberculosis or car accidents) among groups in a community, who differ from each other in important aspects: those who have accepted another innovation compared with those who have not; members of the community who have favorable attitudes towards the new practices compared with those who are negatively disposed; those who are exposed to urban influences compared with those who are not; young people compared with old people, etc. The extent to which the incidence of use of the innovation differs beyond chance expectation in the groups thus contrasted provides a measure of the association or linkage between it and the related variables studied. The design of the present analysis may be presented schematically as follows:

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Design for Analysis

I. Dependent Variables

A. Acceptance of agricultural innovations

1. Motor
2. Fertilizer
3. Tilapia fish
4. Mushrooms

B. Acceptance of non-agricultural innovations

1. Use of clinic and hospital facilities

II. Independent Variables

A. Motivation level (indexed by attitude to each innovation)

B. Role and status factors

1. Economic level
2. Age
3. Family size

C. Communications factors

1. Literacy
2. Exposure to media of mass communication
3. Breadth of social contacts within the community

D. Urban orientation

1. Acceptance of urban patterns
2. Contact with urban centers

E. Capital investment factors

F. Other factors

1. Community integration and identification
2. Religious beliefs and superstitions
3. Personality factors
4. Knowledge of political figures
5. Willingness to perform industrial work

Interpretation of Results

What kind of causal interpretations may grow out of such an analysis? In the first example, tuberculosis, the experimental researcher might point out that further research has ultimately

121 established that none of the correlated factors finally turned out to produce the disease--the necessary condition was a bacillus. Indeed, some of the factors mentioned might be viewed as results of the illness rather than as causal factors. Correlational analysis in a study of this type can establish only that the factors associated with tuberculosis constitute the context within which the necessary condition (in this case the bacillus) was known to operate. In the second example, traffic accidents, it is perfectly apparent that age , or time of day, cannot produce a car accident, but the linkage between accidents and other factors provides portions of the context where accidents occur.

Why is it important to understand this context' Such knowledge can lead to inferences about more direct causation, which serve to narrow down the clinician or experimenter's search for the necessary condition. Indeed, a necessary condition may operate only when it is imbedded in this complex matrix of other related variables--or may even be rendered inoperative when the context is changed. Thus efforts toward change or improvement can be made more effective by being directed to the relevant conditions.

It is essentially this kind of reasoning which underlies the procedure of the present study. Just as in the examples cited, linkages can lead to inferences about causation which may later be checked in the laboratory, so, in the same way, linkages discerned in the present study can lead to inferences about causal factors. They are useful chiefly in providing the context within which the decision to try out these sorts of innovations comes about. In this sense of understanding the context, efforts to produce social change may be made with more understanding of the dynamics.

We may now turn to the data collected in Bang Chan for a study of factors related to acceptance or rejection of innovations within the larger context of a rural community in contemporary Thailand.

THE COMMUNITY AND THE INNOVATIONS

The Scene of Bang Chan

361 [131] Twenty-five miles by highway northeast of Bangkok is situated the community of Bang Chan. In this section of the central plains the inhabitants live as near as possible to the rice paddies which they till, so that instead of a compact village Bang Chan is a community spreading broadly along the banks of a canal network which from its two-mile stretch through Bang Chan, [621] covers most of Central Thailand. Under these circumstances precise definition of the community becomes difficult and might be

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743 B. Institutional Care of the Sick: Equally important as agricultural innovations in raising the level of living of an area *177 such as Bang Chan are the efforts to improve the health and wel- *178 fare of the population. Since the thirties there has been a clinic in the neighboring market town of Minburi and some Bang Chan farmers used clinics and hospitals in Bangkok before that time. Only about a third (36 per cent) say they have never been to a clinic or a hospital; over a third (37 per cent) have themselves gone for treatment; about one fourth (23 per cent) report having brought a patient there; over one tenth (12 per cent) say they visited relatives there; and a few (3 per cent) say they went there for various other reasons.*

ANALYSIS OF DATA ON AGRICULTURAL INNOVATIONS

*121 The central question to which the present analysis directs itself is: What are some of the factors which may be said to account for the fact that certain members of the community are willing to try out these innovations and to continue using them, while others are unwilling even to make the initial attempt? Is there some general pattern to be discerned among the several innovations? Is there any discernible clustering among them; that is, are some community members more "innovation-minded" than others, in the sense that if they try out or accept one innovation they are more likely to accept another? Or are these innovations accepted independently of each other? The following analysis of the survey responses attempts to shed some light on these and related problems.

Factors in Acceptance of Agricultural Innovations

241 Use of the small motor is basic to acceptance of other agri-
402 cultural innovations. Although only a minority of the persons of Bang Chan report that they own a small motor, many more used this
*177 machine through joint ownership or borrowing. Indeed, knowing
*178 whether a person owns or uses such a motor is a useful indicator of his readiness to accept other agricultural innovations. If he owns or has used a motor, then he is about five times more likely than others to try fertiliser, about two and a half times more likely to try raising tilapia, and about one and a third times more likely to try straw mushrooms.

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[125] * The question: "Have you ever been to a clinic or hospital...? In what various places...? For what various purposes did you go ...?"

There is some justification, then, for the inference that initial adoption of innovations such as fertilizer and tilapia, which require increased labor, will depend to some extent upon the availability of some labor-saving device (such as the small motor) which will enable the busy farmer to perform the necessary labor and, perhaps, leave him freer to exercise the care required for these innovations to be successful. Hence the relatively stronger relationship among these innovations. An innovation which does not make these demands, however (such as mushroom growing), is more likely to find acceptance on its own terms and may thus be less dependent for its acceptance upon availability of some sort of labor-saving device.

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Innovation and Attitude Towards It

There is further evidence in the survey substantiating the greater "autonomy" so to speak, of the decision to try mushroom culture compared with the decision to try fertilizer or tilapia.

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The present study tested the hypothesis that use of these innovations would be related to a favorable attitude toward them. Attitude toward the four innovations was determined by examining responses to the questions: "What is your opinion about fertilizer?" "...about mushroom growing?" "...about tilapia?" Responses were classified according to whether they revealed positive, mixed, or negative affective feelings to each of the innovations.

[121]
[125]

In general, positive attitudes towards all these innovations are widespread in Bang Chan. About three-quarters of the residents express positive feelings toward mushroom growing and over half express positive attitudes to artificial fertilizer and tilapia raising. (See Table 3.) None of these innovations elicits widespread expressions of disfavor, although the respondents are more likely to express an unfavorable attitude to tilapia (29 per cent) than to fertilizer (14 per cent) or to mushrooms (7 per cent)

TABLE 3. THE MAJORITY IN BANG CHAN HOLD POSITIVE ATTITUDES TOWARDS AGRICULTURAL INTRODUCTIONS

Attitude	"What is your opinion about..." Mushrooms	Fertilizer	Tilapia
Positive	76%	59%	57%
Neutral or mixed*	6	3	2
Negative	7	14	29
No opinion	9	16	8
Not ascertainable	2	8	4
Total cases	(333)	(333)	(333)

* The neutral or mixed attitude category comprises responses conveying partly favorable and partly unfavorable feelings such as, "some kind is good, some kind is not so good"; "in some ways I like it, in some ways I dislike it."

This table shows that in tilapia raising both factors operate independently and cumulatively, i.e. people who are better off economically and who also own or use the motor are almost two and a half times as likely to raise tilapia as their economically depressed counterparts who neither own nor have access to the motor. (45 versus 17 per cent respectively.)

The link between use of the motor and attempt to try fertilizer holds regardless of economic level.

The initial link between ownership or use of the motor and growing of mushrooms, on the other hand, is shown to be a conditional one. Those on a higher economic level are more likely than others to try mushroom growing, whether or not they own or use a motor. Those on the lower economic level, with access to a motor are more likely to take up tilapia culture.

TABLE 9. RELATIONSHIP OF USE OF MOTOR AND OTHER INNOVATIONS TO ECONOMIC LEVEL

	Economic Level			
	High*		Low**	
Owns or used motor (Proportion who have raised tilapia)				
Yes	43%	(89)	33%	(57)
No	25	(21)	17	(40)
Owns or used motor (Proportion who have tried fertiliser)				
Yes	20%	(89)	10%	(57)
No	5	(21)	*	(40)
Owns or used motor (Proportion who have tried mushroom growing)				
Yes	60%	(89)	36%	(57)
No	37	(21)	23	(40)

* Three buffaloes or more
** Two buffaloes or fewer

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Literacy

One important hypothesis to account for differential acceptance of innovations is that the decision to try them out is aided by exposure to the available sources of information. If this were indeed the case, then users of these innovations will be more apt to be able to read and write than be illiterate.

Literacy was determined by asking each respondent whether

as apt to adopt the motor irrespective of whether he has been in contact with urban culture.

TABLE 20. ILLITERATE FARMERS* WITH WIDER CULTURE CONTACTS ARE MORE LIKELY THAN OTHERS TO USE THE MOTOR

	Illiterate (Proportion using the motor)		Literate (Proportion using the motor)	
Trips to the airport				
None	38%	(40)	86%	(35)
One or more	63	(49)	86	(83)
Visits to the agricultural fair				
None	30%	(67)	85%	(76)
One or more	57	(24)	88	(43)

*Male farmers only

However, no such relationship was discerned between these culture contacts and trying out either fertilizer, tilapia, or mushrooms.

Here again, is evidence to support the hypothesis that contacts with urban culture may act as a substitute for literacy in making the farmer more sophisticated about improving his standard of living and level of production. But the data show that such exposure need not result from direct physical contact with urban centers; it can, instead, be a result of indirect contact. Direct physical contact with urban culture, it turns out, is effective in increasing the incidence of acceptance of the more complex innovations only for the illiterate farmers of Bang Chan.

Friendships

The same reasoning which would lead one to expect a higher incidence of acceptance of innovations among those directly exposed to urban contacts would lead to the companion hypothesis: that inhabitants who have a greater degree of internal contacts with their friends and neighbors might tend to try out innovations to a greater extent than those who remain relatively aloof from such social contacts.

The data show that such contacts have a limited connection with acceptance of innovations. The incidence of motor use and tilapia raising is higher, it is true, among persons who report a wider sphere of social circulation; but there is little relation between social contacts and willingness to try out fertilizer or mushrooms.

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402 One is tempted to speculate about the significance of this relationship. One possibility deserves further investigation if the data were only available. If one important reason for incurring debts is to secure or to replace capital equipment, then those farmers more willing to make a capital investment, even though they incur a debt, are more likely to use the motor. Conversely, farmers unwilling or unable to contract debts for a basic improvement in their capital equipment might be the ones less likely to adopt an innovation such as the motor.

Other Factors

• 121 A number of other factors which conceivably might have been expected to differentiate those who tried out these innovations from those who never made an attempt to use them were investigated and proved to have no differentiating power. Factors such as age and family size, for example, were examined to see whether differential acceptance existed among younger compared with older age groups, or small as compared with large families. No such differences appeared. In the same way, the survey's rough measures of community integration and identification, certain religious beliefs and superstitions, certain personality traits, of knowledge of political figures, and willingness to perform industrial work likewise revealed no differential rates of acceptance when groups were compared.

*178 USE OF MODERN HEALTH FACILITIES

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75 Improvements in agricultural production must certainly not be viewed as the only efforts worthy of attention to raise the level of living in Bang Chan. Equally important are efforts to train the population to use modern health practices and facilities.

Hospitals have been available since the twenties in Bangkok and a clinic in Minburi since the thirties. Despite these facilities, much curing continues in the traditional way through priests or certain farmers of the locality who have learned from other practitioners to compound medicines, set bones, deliver babies and expel demons.

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[125] In the present survey the majority of respondents reported that they have sometimes in their lives used hospital or clinic facilities. To the question, "Have you ever been to a clinic or hospital?" 63 per cent answered affirmatively. Less than half of those who replied indicated having gone for their own treatment or hospitalization, the remainder for other reasons. The distribution of responses is given below.

6: Goldsen and Ralis Z-4.5 (1955) 1957
AO7 Central Thai AO7

APPENDIX A

March 1956

HOW THE BANG CHAN SURVEY WAS CONDUCTED

How the Study Came to be Made

121 The survey conducted in May 1955 was part of a program* for testing diverse techniques of data-gathering in cultures substantially different from U.S. and Western European cultures, where the survey method of gathering data had been developed and tested.

114 The survey questionnaire was developed and the field work carried out with the help of area specialists of the Cornell Research Center in Bangkok. Mr. Robert B. Textor and Mr. Loobongs Sotabhaya of the Cornell Thai staff assisted the field director and recruited the English-speaking Thai university students who interviewed for the survey.

The Questionnaire

12 After a period of training interviewers about the questionnaire and techniques of interviewing, the questionnaire was pretested in a rural community near Bang Chan. Then the staff, consisting of the field director, his deputy, and five Thai interviewers, among them one woman, moved to Bang Chan to carry out the survey.

124 Thai and English-language versions of the schedule were drawn up, but of the 335 interviews conducted in the survey,
125 the overwhelming majority was conducted in the Thai language rather than through an interpreter.

The Interviewers

124 The interviewers were a mixed group: one Thai-speaking American anthropologist; one trained Thai anthropological field worker; two Thai Christians (one a theology, the other a medical student); one Thai Buddhist medical student, one Thai Buddhist female social worker; and an American sociologist who used the Thai interviewers as interpreters.

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[122] * The Cornell Cross-Cultural Methodology Project for the Development and Testing of Improved Methods to Study Underdeveloped Areas is supported by a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation and is a project in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology.

6: Goldsen and Ralis Z-4.5 (1955) 1957
AO7 Central Thai AO7

APPENDIX C

Cornell Methodology Project,
Bangkok
2 May 1955

Interviewer Guide

Bang Chan Survey 1955

I. INTRODUCTION

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This survey is a multipurpose study. One of its objectives is to help determine HOW one can best use a technique such as a survey for community research in South East Asian villages. A survey is one of several techniques used in community research by Western social scientists. The study of a community permits to acquire knowledge about what is essential and important in the life of a village and town. Once a store of knowledge is available and described, the door is being opened for the introduction of innovations and improvements based on scientific knowledge and not based on hunches and speculative thinking. However, the instruments of social science research still bear great limitations. Life processes are the laboratory of research. Thus, dynamic processes are faced which make research complex.

Another objective of this survey is to study the meaning in a given cultural setting of variations in question wordings, different types of answer categories, and various types of questions in terms of question structure.

Finally, an attempt is made as well to collect some data from a typical rice village in the hinterland of Bangkok for supplementing cultural anthropological hypotheses and findings.

This interviewer guide is to assist the interviewer in his task. Here anticipated difficulties and weaknesses in this survey are brought to light in order to make it easier for the interviewer to avoid traps inherent in field situations. First of all, it should be noted that replies to ALL QUESTIONS ARE REQUIRED. It means that a given number for each question or subquestion must be ENCIRCLED ON THE ANSWER SHEET OR THE RESPONDENT'S REPLY MUST BE REGISTERED IN THE PLACE PROVIDED FOR. Unless strict adherence to this rule is obtained from each interviewer, questionnaires will contain omissions and become valueless. Such questionnaires would signify a loss of effort, a loss of time, and unnecessary exposure of respondents to interviews. Secondly, an interviewer who has any doubts about procedural points, should discuss them without any hesitation either with the field director, or with his deputy, Mr. Textor, or with Mr. Civ, who, all three, consider it their responsibility to clarify all possibly confusing matters and to give such training to each interviewer as to enable him to perform his task with ease.

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7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)1956 AO7 Central Thai AO7

CHAPTER I

METHODOLOGY

Since 1947 Cornell University has been sponsoring
121 a number of studies in community development in various parts of the world. "All of these studies are multiple approaches to a central problem: What are the basic factors involved in the process of cultural change? In the Cornell studies of changing human behavior it is postulated that in any society no one element of change can be clearly understood except in relation to other elements. Biological factors -- birth rates, disease, malnutrition -- must be investigated in relation to the physical environment and the total culture of the society in which they occur. Functional aspects of culture -- family life, economy, education, religion -- must be studied in relation to each other rather than simply as isolated segments of group life."[1]

121 This study of the economy of a rice growing village
44 in Central Thailand is a part of the Cornell University Thailand Project which includes studies carried on by a group of research workers representing a variety of disciplines. The field work was begun in 1948-49 and was resumed in 1952-54.

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1. Alexander H. Leighton and Lauriston Sharp, "Notes for Field Research Workers" (Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Cornell University, New York, 1952), p. 1. (Mimeographed.)

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)1956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

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Reasons for the Choice of the Field Site

After an extensive survey of a number of possible sites in the Central Plain, the community of Bangchan, some twenty miles northeast of Bangkok, was selected for intensive study. Among factors leading to this choice were the following: (1) accessibility from Bangkok, about forty minutes by car with optimal road conditions, and about two and a half hours by launch -- an important advantage because it was desired to maintain contact with events in the capital, to utilize research and other facilities there, and to work in a community which Thai from Bangkok or vicinity could easily reach should they participate in the research; (2) availability of a fairly concentrated population of over 1,600 almost entirely engaged in rice production; (3) production of a large surplus of rice sold to nearby Chinese millers for export; (4) local use of two alternative methods of growing rice -- transplanting and broadcasting; (5) presence of an active religious institution or wat; (6) presence of a large government primary school; (7) artificial division of the community between two administrative units or amphur, providing an exceptional opportunity for comparative study of local government; (8) presence of a small number of Moslem Thai, permitting study of this important minority group; (9) almost complete absence of Chinese residents, but dependence upon outside Chinese itinerant vendors or nearby traders and millers, permitting study of Thai-Chinese relations; (10) a wide range of variation with respect to individual

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

121 experience outside the community, from persons who had
621 never before seen any foreigner to others familiar with Bangkok or smaller centers of modernizing influence; (11) prospects of a fair degree of physical security from robbery or other violence during the study; and (12) the promise of excellent cooperation on the part of both peasants and officials of the region.[2]

121 A majority of the sites visited or heard about during the preliminary survey proved unsatisfactory for one or more of the following reasons: (1) they were too specialized (fruit or truck gardening, brick or pottery making, proximity of a naval establishment, preponderance of non-Thai or non-Buddhist groups); (2) they consisted of amorphous groups of sub-marginal tenant farmers exhibiting marked signs of social disorganization; or, most commonly, (3) they were decentralized and the dispersal of homesteads along canals would have required an inordinate amount of research time spent in moving about in order to communicate with the people.[3]

121 Although caution has been exercised to select a com-
184 munity most closely approximating a representative village
*243 of the Central Plain, we do not purport that economic conditions described in Bangchan are identical with those of other villages in the region. Bangchan's representativeness

2. Lauriston Sharp, "First Progress Report on Cornell Thailand Project, August 1-November 1, 1948", p. 2. (Mimeographed.)

3. Ibid., p.2.

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)1956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

121 184 243 can later be checked through studies in a nearby control village and by comparison with results of the 1953 agricultural census. Nevertheless most of the problems of rural rice growing communities in central Thailand undergoing technological changes are expected to be found in Bangchan. We are confident, therefore, that the community is an appropriate model for locating agrarian problems and is a good site for a pilot study which is to serve as a base-line for further researches in agricultural economics and other social sciences.

Techniques for Establishing Rapport

123 Our first contact with Bangchan residents was made on September 1, 1948, when Professor Lauriston Sharp and the author were driving home from Minburi. We stopped over at a farm house on the side of Minburi Road two miles from the market town and introduced ourselves to a small gathering of farmers. We told them that we were both teachers, Sharp teaching in the United States and Janlekha in the nearby Kasetsat University, and that we were looking for a typical village where "Professor Sharp might study the real life of Thai farmers so that he could tell his American students how we live and work."

The place where the conversation was taking place was on the periphery of Bangchan village -- the western tip of Hamlet 4, Bangchan Commune. While one of the farmers was explaining the general condition to us, he was interrupted

T 63 Place of Bangchan in the Administrative Area

In the highly centralized system of Thai administration, the whole country is divided into 9 circles (pharg), 71 provinces (changwad), 414 districts (amphur) and 77 sub-districts (king-amphur), 3,650 communes (tambol), and some 50,000 hamlets (muban).

CT 621 634 121 In the section on reasons for the choice of the field site (page 32) a mention was made of an artificial division of Bangchan between two administrative units. By that we mean one part of our "natural" or "functional" Bangchan village administratively belongs to one amphur and the other part belongs to another amphur. The situation will become more vivid when we discuss our "natural" Bangchan village.

CT 621 121 Our "Natural" Bangchan Village

In this study we are not interested in an administrative unit which is often an artificial division, but rather in a "natural" or "functional" village which may be operationally defined as a geographical area inhabited by a conglomeration of people having one or more common social centers.

CT 621 794 872 Bangchan people patronize an active Buddhist religious institution popularly known as Wat Bangchan, and an adjacent government primary school, both centrally located in the community.

CT 621 *128 For practical reasons for ease in statistical manipulation, we assume that the smallest administrative unit --

a/4 [Erratum: this should read "page 36"---Analyst]

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

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In discussing the forces of demand for and supply of land in the few preceding pages, it is not the purpose of the author to quantify these forces and attempt to predict rent or the price paid by the tenant for the control of net income deriving from the use of the productive powers of the soil. Rather, the purpose is to confirm in this specific case Chamberlin's general notion that "the equilibrium of economic forces has been wrongly identified with an equilibrium between demand and supply. The latter is merely a special case of the former. Curves of demand and supply tell nothing, either by themselves or by their intersection, as to what price will be established, until other conditions are known."[14]

Prices of Land

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One of the most significant phenomena during the period covered by this study, from 1948 to 1953, is the rise of prices of land in Bangchan.

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[123]

Records of major receipts and expenses of 96 farm operators who have been continuously working on an average area of 3,140 rai, or 47 per cent of the total area worked by Bangchan residents, show that during this six-year period two operators sold two parcels of land and ten operators bought eleven parcels of land. Since none of these involved transaction between one and the other in our sample of 96 operators, it can be said that there was a total of thirteen

14. Chamberlin, op. cit., p. 15.

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

182 rate of increase in land price is considered, however, it
423 is reasonable to believe that population increase is cer-
435 tainly not the only factor.
369

[121] It is not the purpose of this study to deal with the price of urban land. Neither the problem of land utilization nor the whole economy of Bangchan can be clearly understood, however, without some account of the rapid building up of urban land prices in recent years. It is thus necessary to digress at this point into some factors accountable for this rapid rise.

369 It has been observed that the volume of domestic
454 saving in Thailand is small because of the low level of in-
423 come, and that such saving as does take place tends to be
435 put into real estate and gold and jewelry. Concentration
178 of income resulting from the postwar phenomenon of shifting
182 of political and economic power into the hands of few people, however, has somewhat increased the proportion of saving; but this is again used largely to purchase real estate. The natural result is the boosting up of urban land prices especially in the suburban sections where there has been a relatively high degree of improvement in road construction since the war.

423 This investment in land purchase has more than ever
45 before assumed a speculative nature. This is largely due
178 to the experience of inflation initiated by World War II
369 whereby huge and easy profits could be made from buying
182 and selling of land. Corruption in the sale and purchase

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

#243 466 Difficulty arises when farm workers are classified individually because of duplication. It was mentioned in Chapter II that family members might work for their lampai after they had fulfilled their obligation on the family farm work. It is seen, then, that a family member may be considered as both family worker and piece-worker. Even the farm operator himself may earn extra income from piece-working and thus becomes also a piece-worker. In fact, most farm operators who had only a small area to work did have time to earn extra income this way. It is only the hired laborer that could not earn extra income from piece-working because he is bound by contract to devote all his time to his employer's farm and household work. It is considered unbecoming for a hired laborer to take time out, even at night, to fish for his own biological family.

Sampling Technique

#128 621 So far we have been dealing mostly with the universe of our study -- the total population of our "natural" Bangchan Village as defined in Chapter II; although occasionally, it might have been noticed, reference has been made to a sample of 104 farm operators and of 96 continuing farm operators.

[121] [161] Our primary attempt in this community study is to cover the entire village. It is obvious, however, that all relevant information cannot be gathered on some 300 families comprising this village of about 1,700 people. We may, for

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

CHAPTER VII

ECONOMIC CONDITION OF FARM OPERATORS

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Income performs two basic functions in the social economy: (1) as incentives to resource owners, income affects the use to which resources are put in production; (2) as purchasing power in the hands of families, income affects the well-being of people. This functional dichotomy is significant because it has its foundation in the primary values that motivate people in our society. The first function is oriented toward production, the second toward welfare.[1]

Western economists have been all too prone to restrict their analyses to the first of these two functions. In the East, as already indicated in the introductory chapter, commercialization of agriculture was started only in the latter phase of Western colonial regime in the area, more specifically after the construction of the Suez Canal. Even now, the transformation from the age-old self-sufficing economy into a commercial economy has not been completed because the fabrics of the traditional society have not been reshaped and the traditional outlook still prevails. Here

1. Theodore W. Schultz, Production and Welfare of Agriculture (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1949), p. 21.

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

121 lies the main problem of Southeast Asia -- the problem basically of transition. Writing in 1949, Paul Mus rightly states: "The traditional world was not dead; it still held sway in the countryside. A state of affairs, in which the people's livelihood is calculated in terms of one world and their taxes in those of quite another, cannot endure."[2]

* 128 433 Degree of Self-sufficiency

During 1952-53, a consumption study was made on 106 sample-farms, which include the 96 continuing sample-farms and 10 new farms brancing off from the original sample-farms of 1948. Details of this consumption study will be discussed in the section on ordinary household expenses later in this chapter. For the purpose of the present discussion, Table 46 -- frequency distribution of degree of self-sufficiency of those 106 sample-farms -- is here introduced. By degree of self-sufficiency is meant the proportion of the value of home-grown products expressed as a percentage of the total value of annual consumption. Quantitatively speaking, it is seen that Bangchan farm families produce more than half of the things they ordinarily consume.

24 433 [592] 000 However, the number of different products consumed which are produced by the family can be counted with the fingers of one hand. These are rice, fish, eggs, fruit and vegetables. On the other hand, there are scores of items

2. Paul Mus, The Role of the Village in Vietnamese Politics.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 296]